QUELLEN ZUR ENTDECKUNGSGESCHICHTE UND GEOGRAPHIE ASIENS

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CHARLES MASSON

NARRATIVE OF VARIOUS JOURNEYS IN

BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN AND THE PANJAB - Vol 3

INCLUDING A RESIDENCE IN THOSE COUNTRIES FROM 1826 TO 1838

Introduction by

GARRY J. ALDER

Vol. III

AKADEMISCHE DRUCK- u. VERLAGSANSTALT
GRAZ – AUSTRIA
1975

Um ein Vorwort vermehrter Nachdruck der
1842 bei Richard Bentley in London erschienenen Ausgabe
Photomechanischer Nachdruck

Printed in Austria
ISBN 3-201-00941-5

VIEW of the BALLA HISSAR BALLA or UPPER CITADEL of KÂBAL, from the SOUTH

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CHAPTER XX.

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JOURNEYS

IN

BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN, AND THE PANJAB.

CHAPTER I.

Saiyad Keramat Alí.—His adventure.—The Nawâb Jábár Khân's services. — Lieutenant Conolly. — Saiyad Maihín's reward. — Reasons for it.—Government proposal to Saiyad Keramat Alí. —His communications with Captain Wade.—His recommendation.—Severity of the winter.—Indications of spring.—General thaw.—Warm and cold snow.—Destruction of houses.—Nazzar Bábá Adam.—Vernal flowers.—Water-fowl.—Gnats.—Chúkri. —Rawâsh.—Swelling of River.—Dost Máhomed Khân's order. —Waggish remark.—Earthquakes.—The Shakúfa.—The Arghawân.—Id Khúrbân.—Abdul Samad.—His arrival at Kâbal. —His seizure.—His release and employment.—His power.— Colonel Stoddart.—Thunder showers.—Winds.—Progress of the season.—Early vegetables.—Leisure for inquiry.—Dost Máhomed Khân's celebrity.—His appearance at Ghazni.—His popularity with the people.—Opinions of higher classes.

A few days after my return to Kâbal I was surprised by a visit from a person announcing himself as Saiyad Keramat Alí, agent of the Supreme Government of India. He informed me of his travels, as companion of Lieutenant Arthur Conolly,

and of his adventures at Kâbal. It appeared, that he had wished to preserve his incognito; but a letter, destined for Herát, having been intercepted, his existence, and the nature of his employment, became revealed, and he was consigned to the bandí-khâna, or prison, of Dost Máhomed Khân. The Nawâb Jabár Khân embraced with alacrity the opportunity afforded of showing his good-will to Europeans, and to those connected with them, and urged to his brother, that he had a singular method of evincing his desire to cultivate a friendship with the Sâhibân of Hind, by placing the first of their agents sent to Kâbal in durance. The chief smiled, and admitted there was reason in the nawâb's rebuke, while he called for the saiyad, that he might hear what he had to say for himself. His tale was, that his sole business was to procure intelligence of Abbás Mírza and his movements. Dost Máhomed Khân observed, "Very good, they interest me also; take care not to write anything about me." The nawâb joyfully carried off the saiyad, and installed him in apartments of his own house, where, under that good man's protection, he securely and unreservedly prosecuted his vocations.

As the appointment of this saiyad proved the first step in the intercourse between the Government of India and the Bárak Zai chiefs, it may be profitable to note the causes leading to it, and to explain its nature. Lieutenant Arthur Conolly's

travels are before the public. I have never read them, but am aware that he experienced difficulties at Herát, which were relieved by a saiyad of Peshing, Maihín Shâh, who accompanied him to Calcutta, and was munificently rewarded. As the saiyad was considered, in Afghânistân, to have as much profited by the necessities of Lieutenant Conolly as to have assisted him, the extraordinary liberality shown to him was matter of surprise; nor did I fully understand it, until I was told by that officer himself, in 1840, that the saiyad had the merit of having served a connexion of the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten. It is fair to add, that the saiyad has not proved himself unworthy or ungrateful for the bounties he received; however, he might have been less favourably noticed had he been useful to any other individual.

As the Government had interested itself as regarded Saiyad Maihín, it was also bound to extend its patronage to Saiyad Keramat Alí, the companion of Lieutenant Conolly; and it was proposed to him that he should repair to Kândahár, and furnish, from time to time, reports on the proceedings of Abbás Mírza. I believe the Government at that time attached little consequence to the movements of the crown prince of Persia, and adopted merely the suggestion of the saiyad himself, who objected, however, to Kândahár, and preferred Kâbal, which was assented to, with an in-

junction that he was not even to report what passed there. After the saiyad was established firmly in Kâbal, and had more or less intercourse with parties there, he introduced certain matter in his reports, for which he was rebuked by Captain Wade, the political agent at Lúdiána, to whom they were addressed; but, subsequently, that functionary informed him that such subjects would be agreeable, as well as any remarks he might make on them; and, thus encouraged, no doubt the saiyad did as he was wished to do. I can state, on his own authority, that he recommended the formation of a Presidency, the capital of which he suggested should be Haidarabád in Sind.

The saiyad was more liberal in religious opinions than was, perhaps, necessary or decent; and, as the month of Rámazân came on, I had much of his company, owing to his aversion to fasting, which, to save appearances, it was not right to display in the nawáb's house.

Throughout January and February the rigour of the season was excessive. Without thermometer, I could not verify the depression of temperature, but its effects demonstrated it must have been very low. Copper vessels burst during the nights, and wine, a rare occurrence, was frozen.

In the last days of February a thaw took place, and on the 1st of March a swallow was observed, and hailed as an omen of the approach of spring. About the middle of February wild ducks and

sparrows were exposed for sale in the bazars, and shortly afterwards pâlak, or spinach, was procurable, with the tender shoots of the fish plant, here employed as vegetables, and gathered from the sun-exposed skirts of the hills.

With the month of March an evident change in the weather was perceptible. Water no longer froze, while showers of mingled snow and rain fell. Towards Noh Roz a general thaw commenced, and although pure snow descended so late as 21st March, it did not remain on the soil. It is esteemed fortunate by agriculturists when winter is accompanied by large quantities of snow, which is supposed both to promote the fecundity of the earth and to protect the grain sown in autumn, from which the spring crops are matured. Two kinds of snow are, however, distinguished, the warm and cold; the first is beneficial, the last prejudicial. Warm snow, in fact, implies pure snow, and cold snow, frozen, or iced snow. To the inhabitants of the city an excess in the flaky supply is not only inconvenient but induces more serious evil. Now that a thaw took place, in consequence of the mud walls of the buildings having become completely saturated with moisture, their foundations yielded to the pressure of the weight above them, and very many houses fell in. Each accident was announced by a tremendous crash. In my neighbourhood two or three dwellings were involved in ruin. It was consolatory amid these casualties to know

that little or no personal injury was sustained by the inhabitants; a conservative power seemed to watch over human life. Children, as usual in cases of calamity, paraded the roofs of the tenements, invoking the intercession with heaven of their Prophet and saints.

On the 28th March the fields in the country were so free from snow that the annual rural festival, called Nazzar, or offering to Bábá Adam, was celebrated. On this occasion the zamíndárs, or cultivators, yoke their oxen to their ploughs, and exercise the cattle, initiatory to the labours of the year. The day is closed in festivity.

Dry frosts distinguished the beginning of April, and water once or twice was slightly iced over. I was now able to extend my walks without the gates, and watch the starting into life of the various spring flowers which embellish the meadows and the skirts of the hills. Of numerous species the earlier were bulbs. The first which appears is called Gúl Noh Roz, the flower of the new year. It bears a minute yellow blossom, but is so abundant as to clothe with a golden garb the lower eminences, on which it delights. Water-fowl were now plentiful in the marshes about the city, which were frequented by the shikárís, or fowlers. The sirdár's falconers would wade in the water, and occasionally let fly their hawks. I observed another mode employed to counteract the shyness of the birds. Two men with jisâls, long heavy

muskets, would creep behind a bullock, directed towards the fowls, and when sufficiently near, fire leisurely over the animal's back at them. In this month many of the birds that retired at the approach of winter, again made their appearance; swallows, pigeons, wagtails, and the múrg súlímân; the lark also renewed his carols. Flies, gnats, and at length the butterfly, flitted in the vernal sunshine. Gnats are not generally troublesome at Kâbal, but about this time vast numbers are generated on the margins of the marshes and swamps. In the evening, when myriads are on the wing, it is prudent to avoid them. About the middle of April chúkrí, or the green leaf-stalks of the rhubarb-plant, were brought from the hills of Paghmân. In a week they were followed by rawâsh, or the tended and blanched stalks. The inhabitants rejoiced at the presence of one of their luxuries. The coriander-plant, cultivated in the gardens of the city, was now seen in the markets, being made to serve as a vegetable. On the 10th of the month, April, the river flowing through the city was so swollen by melted snows, that apprehensions were raised that it would inundate its banks. Much alarm prevailed, and the residents in the quarters most exposed to danger removed their effects, many to the Bálla Hissár. The houses of my Armenian friends were crammed with the chattels of their acquaintance. Public criers proclaimed throughout the bazars the sirdár's orders,

that every person should bring four stones to contribute to the construction and renewal of the bands, or barriers. It was waggishly remarked, that had Dost Máhomed Khân ordered séh sang, or three instead of four stones, compliance would have been general. It is customary with Afghâns expelling their wives, to cast in succession three stones on the ground, at the same time exclaiming "Yek tillâk,—do tillâk,—seh tillâk;" or, once divorce, twice divorce, thrice divorce. The same observance is usual on the dissolution of friendship, or connexion with any one. On the 17th April a slight earthquake engaged momentary attention; on the 19th April a very smart one succeeded. I had become somewhat accustomed to these phenomena, yet not altogether reconciled to them. It is esteemed correct and deferential to the will of heaven to sit tranquil during their occurrence. As the rafters of my chamber quivered and rattled over my head, I could not but fancy that it was safer to be outside. Commonly the shock is so transient that it has passed as soon as felt. Willows had now become leafed, and many of the trees began to display incipient foliage. The chief attraction of this month, however, was the shakúfa, or blossoming of the fruit-trees. The orchards were thronged by parties to witness, and luxuriate in the delightful visions they exhibited. The environs of the city have, indeed, at this time a beautiful appearance, but imagination can scarcely picture

the enchanting prospects afforded by the picturesque valleys of Paghmân and Koh Dáman. In the flower-gardens, and at ziárats, the narkis, or narcissus, and the zambak, or sweet-flag, expanded into bloom; and on the hills the lâla, or wild tulip, charmed with its infinite variety. At some few of the ziárats the splendid arghawân-tree, arrayed in clusters of red flowers, produced in the scenery of the hills almost a magic effect. This tree, sparingly found at Kâbal, as at Panjah Shâh Mírdân, Jehân Báz, Kheddar, and Báber Bádshâh, abounds at the locality of Séh Yárân, or the Three Friends, and between it and Tope Dara, in the neighbourhood of Chárikár in the Kohistân. The spot is, moreover, commemorated by Baber, who ordered the construction of a summer-house, and planted some chanár, or plane-trees at it, possibly those which are now to be seen there. Commanding an extensive view, it was adapted to the indulgence of his festive recreations, and enabled him in season to enjoy the fairy-like prospect of the flowering arghawâns. These cover the rising grounds to the skirts of the hills, and owing to the space over which they are spread, in blossom produce a truly gorgeous scene, which may be explained perhaps by the native assertion, that the plain is on fire. I am not certain what tree the arghawân may be, nor of its native soil, for it is a stranger at Séh Yárân, and thence was introduced into the ziárats of Kâbal. The stems and branches

are covered with clusters of flowers, of a bright pink hue, followed by seed-pods. The leaves somewhat resemble those of the lilac-tree. Baber, or his translator, mentions, I believe, two arghawâns, the red and the yellow. The latter is a very different plant, and called arghawân unjustly. It is common on all the plains of the country, also on those of Balochistân, and Persia. In the latter region it is named mahâk. It is a shrubby plant, bearing clusters of yellow pea-like flowers, with compound alternate leaves. It is one of the very numerous natural objects whose beauty is not prized because it is not rare. The arghawân is a small tree.

At the close of April the celebration of the Id Khúrbân, or great Máhomedan festival in commemoration of the triumph of the faith of Abraham, gave an opportunity for the display of much pomp and festivity. The day was ushered in with salutes of artillery, and the sirdár, in state, repaired to the Id Gâh without the city, and repeated public prayers. He took advantage of the occasion to confer a handsome khelat, or dress of honour, upon the notorious Abdúl Samad.

This man, it may be noted, arrived from Pesháwer during March. A profligate adventurer, originally of Tabréz, he had flagrantly signalised himself in every country he had visited, as well as in his native land, which he was compelled to fly. He had been at Bagdád, in India, Sind, and the Panjâb. At Pesháwer he had ingratiated himself in

the favour of Súltân Máhomed Khân, and had been appointed to raise a battalion of infantry. His unprincipled actions and his audacity had made him many enemies, and fearing the result of some discussions which had originated, he decamped, and contrived to reach Kâbal. Dost Máhomed Khân was not satisfied that his fear of Súltân Máhomed Khân was real, and suspected that he came with some sinister purpose, in concert with that chief. After receiving him in the most courteous manner, he ordered him and his property to be seized. The sirdár had, indeed, been told that Abdúl Samad possessed some fifty thousand ducats. The confiscation brought to light about six hundred rupees, and the sirdár felt ashamed at his unprofitable breach of hospitality. Abdúl Samad had not been idle. Although confined, he had, through the medium of a female singer, and superannuated Kinchiní, interested in his favour one of the sirdár's wives, the mother of Máhomed Akbár Khân. He caused to be represented to her, how useful he might prove in case of accident to the sirdár, in securing the succession to her son, who could not hope to sit in his father's place without opposition from his uncles, and even from his brothers. The fond mother induced her son to support Abdúl Samad, who was not only released, but an ill-formed battalion, under one Shâh Máhomed Khân, was transferred to him, with instructions to organize and perfect it. The adventurer soon became

as absolute at Kâbal as he had been at Pesháwer, and his ascendancy seemed to prove Dost Máhomed Khân in no wise superior to his brother as to sense or principle. If it were wished to believe that the Kâbal chief was a good man, his connection with Abdúl Samad belies the supposition, and establishes the reverse. Cognizant of his many enormities, he could only have retained him as a fit and ready instrument of villany. There must have been no little congeniality of disposition in the bosom of the sirdár, to have caused him, on the account of so profligate a character, to endanger his own reputation, and set public opinion at defiance. It would have been entirely needless to have noticed such a man in these pages had he not subsequently given a mischievous bias to the politics of Kâbal.

I shall have occasion hereafter again to mention him, and to allude to the circumstances which led to his ejection from Kâbal. From thence he went to Bokhára, and, strange to say, became as powerful for evil there as he had been at Kâbal or Pesháwer,—undoubtedly from ministering to the indulgence of the impure habits which disgrace the present ruler. From the accounts which have transpired concerning the detention and treatment of our countryman, Colonel Stoddart, I fear he has suffered much from the villany of Abdúl Samad, notwithstanding there are statements, if not letters, from the unfortunate officer himself, to the

purport that Abdúl Samad had befriended him. To be befriended by such a man is in itself calamitous.

The month of May commenced with unsettled and variable weather. Showers of rain, and more than once of hail, occurred, accompanied by thunder. Though constant repetition in the plain of Pesháwer, and sometimes extending over Jelálabád, thunder-storms are rare at Kâbal. The opening of spring and the close of autumn may be marked by them. May was also characterized by violent winds from the north and north-west, dreaded by the proprietors of orchards. Rose-trees during this month unfold their blossoms, and many other flowers increase the interest of walks amid the gardens. Báber Bádshah becomes now delightful; but it is not until June that the floral beauties of Kâbal are well developed, or that its groves are fully invested with foliage. In the middle of May lettuces make a grateful addition to the vegetable stores of the bazar, and unripe plums and apricots, here eaten by all classes, nor deemed unwholesome, pour into the markets. Cresses, radishes, and cucumbers are also abundant.

The leisure which my sojourn at Kâbal during this period afforded, gave me an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the opinions held of Dost Máhomed Khân, as well as of acquiring a knowledge of his career in life, which before I possessed but imperfectly. As he has since pro-

minently engaged much public attention, even out of his own country, a brief sketch of his history may not be considered by many out of place, especially as erroneous estimates of his character are perhaps generally entertained, and circumstances have given to him a celebrity to which neither his virtues nor ability entitled him; however, as an Afghân ruler he may have been respectable, and even better than most of his contemporaries.

When I first saw him at Ghazní, in 1827, he was tall and spare, his countenance evidently indicating that he had his cares. He was distinguished by his plain white linen attire, in remarkable contrast to the dashing gold-embroidered cloaks and vestments of his surrounding chiefs. Amongst the lower classes of his subjects he was decidedly popular; and at that time I had no opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of people in higher life. On our road from Kândahár, as we met people and inquired the news of Kâbal, we had but one reply, that it was "abád wa ferímân," flourishing and plentiful. There was but one opinion expressed, that the prosperity was due to the "insáf," or justice of Dost Máhomed Khân. After reaching Kâbal, strolling one day towards the meadows of Chahár Déh, I heard one man complain to another, that some person had thrown his child from the roof, and thereby broken its arm. He was asked, if Dost Máhomed Khân was dead? No remark was more frequently repeated, in retort to

complaints of injustice, than that Dost Máhomed Khân was alive. These instances prove the estimation in which he was held by certain classes of his people. I soon discovered that he was in no such repute with his relatives and dependent chiefs, who entertained a very different opinion of him and of his virtues. They considered his pretended moderation and love of justice as mere cloaks to his ambitious policy, and as semblances necessary to keep his followers together, and to prevent them from intriguing and combining with his brothers at Kândahár and Pesháwer.

CHAPTER II.

Sirafráz Khân.—Dost Máhomed Khân's mother.—Her charms and attractions.—Dost Máhomed Khân's neglected education.—Fati Khân's revenge of his father's death.—His successes and elevation.—Youth of Dost Máhomed Khân.—Máhomed Azem Khân.—The Vazír's jealousy and remark.—Dost Máhomed Khân's perfidy.—Seeks refuge in the royal camp.—Máhomed Azem Khân pacified.—Dost Máhomed Khan's acquaintance with Jai Singh.—Laxity of Fatí Khán.—Jai Singh's flight to Pesháwer.—Fatí Khân's policy.—Tâjiks of the Kohistân.—Their condition.—Dost Máhomed Khân appointed to the Kohistân.—His proceedings.—Khwoja Khânjí inveigled and slain.—Slaughter of Koh Dáman chiefs.—Treatment of robber chiefs.—Improved state of Koh Dáman.—Fatí Khân's advance upon Taghow.—Fatí Khân's caution.—Recovery of Káshmír.—The Vazír's interview with Ranjit Singh.—Atak sold to Ranjit Singh.—Battle of Haidaro.—Dost Máhomed Khân's gallantry.—Fatí Khân's military talent.—His suspicious conduct.—Activity of his enemies.—Expedition projected.—Fatí Khan's return to Kâbal.—His triumph over his enemies.—March to Herát.—Hâji Khân's early career.—Friendship with Dost Mahomed Khân.—Relieves his necessities.—Seizure of Firoz Din.—Dost Mahomed Khân's criminal conduct.—Flight to Káshmír.—Shâhzâda Kámrân.—His character.—His jealousy of Fatí Khân.—Fatí Khân's supposed views.—Popular conjectures.—Shâhzâda Kámrân prompted to action.—His sister's reproach.—The Vazír's action with Kajar.—His wound and retreat.—Fatí Alí Shâh's apprehension and remark.—State of Afghânistân.—Fatí Khân's seizure the signal for the dissolution of the monarchy.—Púr Dil Khân made prisoner by

Shâhzâda Kámrân.—Made mír of the Bárak Zai tribe.—Escapes to Andálí.—Hâjí Khân declines the Shâhzâda's offers.—Joins Fúr Dil Khân.—Sons of Sirafráz Khan.—List and disposition of them.

Dost Mahomed Khan is one of the younger sons of Sirafráz Khân, the Bárak Zai sirdár, slain by order of Shâh Zemân at Kândahár, in 1799. Like all good Dúrání chiefs, Sirafráz Khân had many wives, of all classes and descriptions, and by them a numerous progeny. The mother of Dost Máhomed Khân was of a Júânshír family, and it may be presumed handsome and engaging, as she was latterly the most favoured lady of the háram, and the only one who, in her tour of conjugal duty, when her lord was on marches, had the power to retain him in her company until the morning, on which account the troops blessed her, and would have been pleased if it had always been her tour, for they enjoyed their rest, which was sadly disturbed in the case of his other wives, for, seemingly to get away from them, the old sirdár would march at midnight.

At the time Sirafráz Khân was slain he had twenty-two sons living. Dost Máhomed Khân, and his only full, and younger brother, Amír Máhomed Khan, were then mere children. To the loss of his father at so early an age may be partly owing that the future chief of Kâbal was allowed to grow up untutored and illiterate. Fatí Khan, the elder son of Sirafráz Khân, who, if some

accounts be correct, was more guilty than his sire, fled to Andálí, the family castle on the Helmand, and the next year, in concert with Shâhzâda Máhmúd, took Kândahâr, and the year following the dispersal of the royal army at Nání made him master of Kâbal, and subsequently of the person of Shâh Zemân, whose loss of sight atoned for a similar injury previously inflicted by him upon Shâhzâda Húmaiún.

The fortunate Máhmúd became invested with regal power, and the adventurous Fatí Khân with the dignity of Vazír. This order of things was not, however, so firmly established but that it was overthrown by a new revolution, which placed on the throne Súján al Múlkh, a full brother of Shâh Zemân. The blinded prince was released from captivity, and Shâh Máhmúd took his place. In course of time the latter found means to escape; and Fatí Khân, ever ready for bold emprise, by another desperate effort, effected the expulsion of Shâh Súján al Múlkh. I have no more than alluded to these events, because up to this time Dost Máhomed Khân was not yet heard of, indeed was too young to take share in them, or otherwise to attract attention. On the second assumption of power by Shâh Máhmúd he was advancing in youth, and was always about the person of his brother the Vazír, rather as a dependant than a relative, performing even menial offices, such as serving him with wine, and preparing his chillam.

The course of events led the court to Pesháwer; when Dost Máhomed Khân first brought himself into notice by an atrocious deed, which well marked his reckless and daring disposition. Amongst the many brothers of the vazír, Máhomed Azem Khân, of nearly the same age, was distinguished by his dignified deportment and propriety of conduct. He was also very attentive in the administration of his affairs. The vazír, so indifferent to his personal matters that frequently no dinner was prepared for him, and his horses were standing without barley, was piqued at the better management of his brother, and felt annoyed when he heard him lauded. He imputed the prosperous condition of his establishments to the ability of the sáhibkár, or steward, Mírza Alí Khân, who, he used to observe, had made a "shaks," or man, of his brother. One day, exhilarated by wine, he exclaimed, "Would to God that some one would kill Mírza Alí, and deliver me from dread of Máhomed Azem Khân." Dost Máhomed Khân, present, asked if he should kill the mírza; the vazír replied "Yes, if you can." Next morning, Dost Máhomed Khân placed himself on the road of the mírza, in the bazar of Pesháwer, and as he proceeded to pay his respects to his employer, accosted him with "How are you, Mírza?" placed one hand upon his waist-shawl, and with the other thrust a dagger into his bosom. He immediately galloped off, not to the quarters of the vazír, but to the tent of

Ibráhím Khân, Jemshídí, a sirdár of note, and in favour with Shâh Máhmúd. Here he was within the circle of the royal tents, and it would have been indecorous to have removed him: perhaps his reason for seeking refuge there. Máhomed Azem Khân was naturally incensed upon hearing of the catastrophe, and vowing that nothing but Dost Máhomed Khân's blood could atone for that of his ill-fated mírza, in violent anger sought the vazír. That profligate man expressed his contrition that an accidental remark made by him, in his cups, should have caused the perpetration of so foul a crime, but pointed out, that the mírza could not be recalled to life; that Dost Máhomed was still a brother; that if it were determined to punish him he could not be taken from his asylum; that the impure habits of Shâh Máhmúd and his son Kámrân were known to all, and if Dost Máhomed, a beardless youth, was left in their power, fresh causes of ridicule and reproach, were likely to arise to the family,—what had been done, could not be undone: it was prudent, therefore, to forget the past, and avert the evil consequences of the future. By such representations and arguments, Máhomed Azem Khân suffered himself to be persuaded, the mírza was forgotten, and Dost Máhomed Khân was brought from the protection of Ibráhím Khân, Jemshídí. The youth had developed talent of high order, and his retinue was increased by the Vazír from three or four horsemen to twenty.

About this time the acquaintance of Dost Máhomed Khân with the Síkhs commenced, and in a manner which deserves notice, as throwing light on the course of his early life. It can be easily imagined, that the example of the dissolute Fatí Khân must have had a pernicious effect on the morals and habits of those immediately about him, and Dost Máhomed Khân may claim commiseration when it is considered that he was elevated to manhood amid the disgraceful orgies of his brother. Great suspicion attaches to the character of Fatí Khân personally, and it is believed that in his youth he had made himself subservient to the vilest passions of many. It was also remarked, that until he felt himself securely fixed in power, he did not object to an acquaintance between the depraved Shâh Máhmúd and his younger brothers, and to such an acquaintance a degree of opprobrium was attached by the world, even if unjustly. Jai Singh, brother of Naiál Singh, Attárí Wala, was deputed by Ranjit Singh on a mission to Pesháwer, and there became acquainted, the Síkhs say, enamoured of Dost Máhomed Khân. An endless succession of feasts and entertainments, of riotous debauches and nautches, in the Bâgh Núra Khâka, testified to the friendship between the old Síkh chieftain and the youthful Dúrání. Jai Singh on his return to Lahore was suspected of having formed too close an intimacy with the vazír, and being otherwise distrusted by Ranjit Singh, he thought it prudent to fly,

and with forty horsemen (Síkhs) he arrived, for the second time, at Pesháwer. He and his followers now swelled the retinue of Dost Máhomed Khân.

The vazír, on his first accession to office and power, had to contend with the great hereditary sirdárs of the Dúrání clans, who naturally opposed his advancement. Many of these were men of energy and ability, but these qualities were combined with that remarkable simplicity which pervades the Dúrâní character. The vazír, by violence or by fraud, was enabled to remove many of them. His ejectment was caused by a confederacy of the Súní leaders of Kâbal; and on his re-accession to power he judged it expedient for its maintenance, to destroy them. Up to the close of the reign of Shâh Zemân, it does not appear that the Tâjiks of the Kohistán excited much notice, probably remitting an easy tribute, and engaged in their internal disputes. From every account, it would appear that from their feuds and violence of character their country was in an awful state of distraction. But they had become inured to warfare, had become supplied with firearms, and had learned the use of them, and under the direction of able chieftains, formed in the turbulent times in which they lived, had become undoubtedly formidable. In spiritual affairs, rigid Súnís, they paid implicit obedience to their holy men, the descendants of revered families, who had for centuries been established in the country. The

celebrated Mír Wais availed himself of their powerful aid, and their tumultuous but gallant bands rolled from their hills and valleys as a deluge upon the city. Fatí Khân was compelled to yield, for the time, to the storm. Again in power, it behoved him, he thought, to guard against its recurrence. It was in conformity to his general plans of assuring the stability of his ascendency, that he placed the governments of the country in the hands and trust of his brothers. The peculiar talent and promise evinced by Dost Máhomed Khân eminently fitted him for the arduous task of arranging the factions of the Kohistân; and he was appointed hákam, or governor. He was accompanied by his old friend Jai Singh when he marched to assume his charge. It would be too tedious to recount the various events which happened in the Kohistân of Kâbal, consequent on Dost Máhomed Khân's appointment. It will be sufficient to allude to a few of them, and to note the general results.

Dost Máhomed Khân exercised all his ability; gaining his ends by stratagem or by force, but never employing the latter when the former was sufficient. Some of the obnoxious chiefs he inveigled by Korâns and false oaths; others, by intermarriages,—a means not unfrequently resorted to by Dúránís, to get their enemies into their power, when other wiles have failed. In this mode he obtained a wife from Perwân, and dislocated the union of its chiefs, slaying some, and despoiling

the others. The sturdy leaders of the Kohistân, were successively circumvented and disposed of. One of the most potent and cautious, Khwoja Khânjí, of Kárrézai, was nearly the only one who remained, and he had rejected every overture, and refused to attend upon any consideration the camp of the sirdár. It was felt by Dost Máhomed Khân that nothing was done while Khwoja Khânjí remained in being, and he redoubled his exertions to ensnare him. He sent Korân after Korân; engaged to marry his daughter; but could not entice the old chieftain from his castle. The Khwoja, like every man in the Kohistân, had enemies. The chief most inimical to him, was in attendance upon Dost Máhomed Khân. This Sirdár, as a last means of winning the confidence of the Khwoja, put his enemy to death, claiming the merit of having proved the sincerity of his desire to become friendly with him at the risk of incurring disgrace in the eyes of the world. The murder took place at Baiyân, and Dost Máhomed Khân invited the Khwoja to meet him, and cement their friendly understanding, at the castle of his former foe. The Khwoja was now overcome, and to fulfil his destiny, repaired to Baiyân. He came, however, with a most numerous retinue. Dost Máhomed Khân received him with all politeness and humility; a thousand protestations of friendship and service flowed from his lips; he addressed the old man as his father, and, it may be, lulled his suspicions.

At night Dost Máhomed Khân took the hand of the Khwoja, and led him within the castle, that he might witness the preparation of an inventory of the effects of the slain, observing, that it was necessary, as the Khwoja knew what a particular man the vazír was. As soon as the castle was entered the gates were closed, and as the Khwoja passed into an apartment, said to be the tosha khâna, Dost Máhomed Khân gave the signal, in Túrkí, to his Kazilbásh attendants, who cut their victim down. His head, severed from his body, was thrown from the battlements amongst his followers. In the first transports of their indignation they commenced an attack upon the castle, but disunited and disconcerted, they retired before morning. Dost Máhomed Khân was left at leisure to rejoice in his victory, and the triumph of his dexterity.

The government of the sirdár comprised the Koh Dáman as well as the Kohistân; and there was ample room for the exercise there also of his tact and severity. The slaughter of eight chiefs on the same day at Cháríkár, might serve to allay the apprehensions of the vazír for the future, while it promised to guarantee the tranquillity of the country. Saiyad Ashrat Khân, of Hupíân, was deemed too powerful to be allowed to live; and many others, although not equally dreaded, met a similar fate. While these murders, which may be called political ones, were in train of commission, the vigilance of the sirdár was more honourably

directed to the suppression of the robber chiefs, who, with organized bands, devastated the country or infested the communications. These particularly prevailed in the parts of the Koh Dáman, near Kâbal. The robber chiefs and their gangs were natives of the villages, and resided openly in them, and exercised, with the knowledge of all, their furtive profession. Society was on the point of becoming disorganized completely had not a remedy been applied. To these desperadoes Dost Máhomed Khân adopted a more judicious and manly line of conduct. He tendered them forgiveness for the past, if they resumed honest and lawful occupations; if they persisted in their habits of rapine, to be blown from the cannon's mouth was the penalty of their crime and contumacy. Many accepted the indemnity offered, and even engaged in the sirdár's service; others were speedily taken and put to death. In process of time the Koh Dáman was brought to a state of order and security; surprising, because it had never been known before to exist there. These important transactions were not effected altogether without a display of force; partial revolts had often made it necessary to summons troops from Kâbal, but no very serious conflict ensued upon any occasion. The full-brother of Dost Máhomed Khân, Amír Máhomed Khân, who had been appointed hákam at the city, generally marched to the assistance of his brother. In one instance Shâh Máhmúd, in person, with the vazír

Fatí Khân, entered the Kohistân; having made a demonstration in that quarter, the army moved towards Nijrow and Taghow. At the entrance of the two valleys a few men in a tower, called Búrj Sákhí, ventured to oppose its progress. A panic seized the troops, who fled, abandoning their equipage. Want of provender and provisions was alleged to justify the retreat, but possibly some unexplained cause led to it.

It was a maxim with the vazír not to allow his brothers to remain too long in governments, both that they might not become too rich, and that they should not forget their dependence on him. He therefore sometimes recalled Dost Máhomed Khân to his presence. Amír Máhomed Khân officiated during his absence, whether occasioned by the precaution of the vazír, or that the services of Dost Máhomed Khân were required elsewhere.

The vazír was accustomed to exclaim "Oh! that God would deliver into my hands Káshmír and Herát; the former that I might possess its revenues, the latter, that my enemies might have no place of refuge." A financial operation, the coinage of base rupees, enabled him to march upon Káshmír, which he recovered from Attá Máhomed Khân, Bámí Zaí, and his brother-in-law. In this expedition Dost Máhomed Khân was present. The vazír, before he entered the happy valley, had an interview with Ranjit Singh on the bank of the Jélam, the Sikh chief crossing

the river. Here Dost Máhomed Khân had an opportunity of evincing his instinctive propensity of desiring to punish any one whose folly induced him to place himself in the power of his rival or enemy, by a significant wink to the vazír that the Síkh was at his mercy. After the surrender of Káshmír, which the vazír confided to his brother, Máhomed Azem Khân, Jehândád Khân, the brother of the displaced Attá Máhomed Khân, surrendered for a pecuniary consideration the fortress of Atak, of importance from its site to Ranjit Singh. The vazír was induced to attempt its recovery, and engaged a Síkh army, covering it at Haidaro. In this action Dost Máhomed Khân, at the head of a large body of horse, led the van, broke the Síkh line, and carried their guns. His troops thought the victory decided, and dispersed to plunder; the Síkhs rallied, and the vazír, who should have been ready to have supported the battle, had fled, having been told that Dost Máhomed Khân was slain. This chief had no alternative but to follow; gaining an increase of reputation, however, by bringing off the vazír's abandoned guns. Fatí Khân, while his personal bravery can hardly be impeached, was very unsuccessful as a general; indeed, he lost nearly every action in which he fought, and triumphed generally over his foes by dispersing them without combat. The means by which he contrived to succeed being inoperative against an external foe, the chance

is, that his reputation would have been impaired had he been much employed on foreign expeditions.

There are still very opposite sentiments expressed in Afghânistan as to the loyalty of Fatí Khân. If carrying on war, and fighting battles contrary to the express orders of his sovereign be acts of rebellion, he was in rebellion when he attacked the Síkhs at Haidaro. But here so much licence is assumed, and so great a latitude is allowed, that it might be unfair to argue from his neglect of his prince's instructions. His judgment may have dictated that the course he adopted was the prudent one in the then state of affairs, and he depended on success to justify himself, or even to claim merit from his easy sovereign. During the operations, however, his enemies at court had not been idle. They had reiterated their suspicions to the Shâh that, master of Káshmír, Fatí Khân intended to throw off his allegiance and to unmask his designs. An impression, moreover, pervaded the minds of the public that the vazír was yâghí, or in rebellion. Whether he was or not must remain matter of doubt; if he was defeated, it became convenient to disavow it; and from the field of Haidaro he made his way, almost as a courier, to Kâbal. An expedition against Persia for the defence of Herát had been determined upon in his absence, and Shâh Máhmúd was encamped without the city at Alíabád. One morn-

ing, unattended, clad in a postín, and covered with mud, rode galloping into camp Fatí Khân. In his uncouth attire he presented himself before the Shâh, saluting him with a sonorous Salám âlíkam. The good-natured prince received him kindly, and the vazír asked what plans were in agitation. On being informed, he said, "Who so fit to contend with Kajar (Persia) as Fatí?" Thus reinstated in his monarch's good opinion, he blackened the faces of his enemies, as the Afghâns express it, that is, he covered them with confusion.

The vazír marched with a formidable army to Herát, and Dost Máhomed Khân accompanied it. At Kândahár they were joined by the prince Kámrân, the governor. To him had repaired the displaced governor of Káshmír; and, known to be jealous of the vazír, his court had become an asylum for all hostile to him. On this march Dost Máhomed Khân became acquainted with Hâjí Khân, Khâka. A soldier of fortune, he had originally served under Shéhin Khân, in the employ of Mastapha Khân, a brother of Máhmûd Khân, the chief of Kalât. Shéhin Khân was a Bábí, and jemadár of some fifty men. Hají Khân soon became his confidant, and happening to be at Déra Ghází Khân, an incident brought him to the notice of Jabár Khân, half-brother of the vazír, and then governor of the place. Subsequently the vazír arrived at Déra Ghází Khân, and on Hají Khân being introduced to him, was

so pleased with his manners and history that he pressed him into his service. Hâjí Khân would only consent on condition of his old friend, the Bábí jemadár, receiving the government of Síví. Hâjí Khân soon grew into great favour. He had discernment to discover that Dost Máhomed Khân was a rising character, and very much attached himself in consequence to him. The sirdár was, as Hâjí Khân once remarked to me, always the most needy of the sons of Sirafráz Khân, and to relieve his necessities was a likely means of securing his good-will. Hâjí Khân made himself useful in this way, and at various times alleviated his embarrassments; not with his own funds, for he had none, but by procuring sums of money from others. Herát was held by the prince Hâjí Firoz Dín, a brother of Shâh Máhmúd. The policy of Fatí Khân required his seizure, and he persuaded Shâh Máhmúd to consent to it. This was effected by stratagem, but the equivocal act had its ruinous consequences. In the confusion Dost Máhomed Khân, attended by his followers and those of the Sikh Jai Singh, forced the palace of the captive prince, penetrated into the háram, and despoiled its inmates. Amongst other unpardonable deeds, he tore away the jewelled band which secured the perjámas of the wife of the prince Malek Kâsim, son of the prince Hâjí Firoz Dín. The outraged lady was a sister of the prince Kámrân, and sent her brother her profaned dress.

The prince brother swore revenge. In this miserable affair some of Jai Singh's followers were wounded, and Dost Máhomed Khân, aware he had everything to fear from the vazír's resentment, fled from Herát, in company with a few servants and the Síkh. He eventually reached Káshmír, where his brother, Máhomed Azem Khân, placed him under easy restraint, agreeably to orders received from Fatí Khan. The Shâhzâda Kámrân, the only son of Shâh Máhmúd, had early given tokens of a spirit which could ill brook to be controlled. Sternly exercising authority, he was conspicuous for unrelenting severity, which he pushed even to brutality. Highly immoral and licentious in his manners and habits, and devoted to all kinds of intemperance, he never in the midst of social or sensual gratifications remitted his inexorable harshness. Yet, withal, he preserved a degree of popularity and respect, derived, perhaps, from his energy and determined character.

Fatí Khân could not but know that to preserve his position it was necessary to provide against Prince Kámrân, who was of no temper to submit to his ascendency. The vazír had as little disposition to allow Shâhzâda Kámrân, or any other person, to thwart him in his views, or to stand between him and the preservation of his authority. The suspicions of Fatí Khân's aims, extending to sovereignty, had not diminished, and while the governments of the country were held by his

brothers, it was manifest that but one step more was needful to attain the dangerous pre-eminence. Herát had fallen into his power, the removal of the indolent Shâh Máhmúd and his son would have left him absolute. He had expended, in largesses, during the march to Herát an immense sum, and it was a common opinion that a crisis in affairs was at hand. If he could afford to permit Shâh Máhmúd to have retained the titular distinction and emblems of royalty, it was foreseen that he must destroy Prince Kámrân or be destroyed by him. The one must rid himself of the other,—none could divine whether to-day or to-morrow,—or in this mode or in that,—but all felt that the existence of the two was inconsistent with the policy and feelings each was known to possess. The remnants of the Dúrání nobility had congregated around Prince Kámrân, and constantly excited him to rescue himself and father from the thraldom imposed upon them by Fatí Khân, and to avenge the honour of the Dúrání name by the sacrifice of so debauched and profligate an upstart. The shameless and perfidious acts of Dost Máhomed Khân roused in the prince's bosom the direst feelings of revenge and indignation; nor were they softened when, in his consolatory visits to his sister, she refused to unveil to him until he had by signal vengeance resented the injury offered to her.

The vazír returned to Herát after his unprofitable

campaign against the Persians, to recruit his army for a fresh expedition. He had fought one of his usual unsuccessful battles, and a slight wound, in the face, as some say from a spent shot from the enemy, or, according to others, from the musket of one of his Kazilbásh adherents, gave him a pretext to abandon the field. Still he had made a noise in Khorasân, and his avowed intention of renewing the war had determined Fatí Alí Shâh to take the field in person. It is said, that it was urged to the shâh that Fatí Khân was but a contemptible enemy; that any one of his sirdárs was sufficient to chastise him. The shâh remarked, that it was true, but that he was "faiz baksh," (prodigal in gifts). The old monarch justly appreciated the character of his enemy, and knew where his tact lay.

The affairs of Afghânistân had become very complicated, and the utmost energy would have been required to sustain it under the pressure of attacks from the east and west. Whether the vazír would have been competent to the task we can hardly now decide. Engaged in hostilities with the Persians on the one side, and the Síkhs on the other, his seizure, and deprivation of sight by Prince Kámrân, closed his political career, and was the prelude to the enactment, in rapid succession, of as many strange events, and of as many enormous crimes and perfidies as can be found in the annals of any country. The shout of Vazír Fatí Khân, as the knife of the executioner was thrust into his visual

organs, was that of the expiring Afghân monarchy. The absolute power he coveted, he may be almost said to have neglected to seize when within his grasp, but he bequeathed to his brethren the ample means of securing their independence, and at the same time of avenging him. Few of the vazír's brothers were at Herát when his seizure was effected, and one of them only, Fúr Díl Khân, fell into the power of Prince Kámrân, the others escaping. Confined for some time, on taking an oath of allegiance he was released and appointed mír of the Bárak Zai Afghâns, a nominal, if not a ridiculous distinction. Hâjí Khân, Khâka, who had signalized himself in the battle with the Persians, and had been carried from the field grievously wounded, was still lying in the care of the surgeons in the city. Prince Kámrân ordered him to be brought in a litter to his presence, and much wished so gallant a man to engage in his service. Hâjí Khân pleaded his obligations to the vazír, and Prince Kámrân, who could respect valour and gratitude, was not angered. Subsequently Fúr Díl Khân escaped to Gríshk, where he set on foot, in conjunction with his brothers, levies to oppose Prince Kámrân. Hâjí Khân, recovered from his wounds, joined them.

In the occurrences which followed from this period we may consider the vazír as politically dead. His brothers now assumed a prominent part. It has been already noted that Sirafráz Khân, at the time of his execution, had twenty-two sons

living. It may not be improper to introduce a list of them. Serving for record and reference, it will also tend to explain some of the causes of the extraordinary contentions which afterwards existed amongst themselves. It will be found how curiously they were separated into groups, affected by their maternal descent. A history of the Bárak Zai family would illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of polygamy.

Sons of Sirafráz Khán at the time of the vazír's seizure, with their disposition.

	Name	Disposition
†	Fatí Khán	the vazír.
	Máhomed Azem Khán	governor of Káshmír.
	Taimúr Kúlí Khán	slain in action with the Síkhs.
‡	Attá Máhomed Khán	slain in action at Pesháwer.
	Yár Máhomed Khán	in government at Pesháwer.
	Súltán Máhomed Khán*	at Pesháwer.
	Saiyad Máhomed Khán*	at Pesháwer.
	Pír Máhomed Khán*	at Pesháwer.
§	Shír Dil Khán	at Herát (escaped).
	Púr Dil Khán	at Herát (made prisoner).
	Kohan Dil Khán*	at Herát (escaped).
	Meher Dil Khán*	at Herát (escaped).
	Rahám Dil Khán*	at Herát (escaped).
‖	Samad Khán	governor of Kábal.
	Assad Khán	governor of Déra Ghází Khán.
	Jabár Khán*	in Káshmír.

† Mother, of the Máhomed Zai, principal branch of the Bárak Zai clan; descent pure.

‡ Mother, Thokí Ghilji; descent good.

§ Mother, Dúrání; descent pure.

‖ Mothers, distinct, but Dúrání, and good.

* Members of the list living in 1839.

†	Amir Máhomed Khân	... at Kábal.
†	Dost Máhomed Khân*	... in Káshmir.
‡	Túrabáz Khân* ...	... in Káshmír.
‡	Islâm Khân	... in the Terín country.
‡	Júma Khân*	... at Shikárpúr.
‡	Abdúl Rahmân Khân	... unknown.

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† Mother, Júânshír; descent considered by Afghâns as impaired.

‡ Mothers, distinct, of inferior tribes, and the sons little regarded in consequence.

* Members of the list living in 1839.

CHAPTER III.

Kámrán's march to Kâbal.—Dost Máhomed Khân's release.—Protests against Máhomed Azem Khân's inactive views.—Volunteers to oppose Kámrán.—Advances upon Kâbal.—Attá Máhomed Khân.—Made Múkhtahár Dowlah.—Sháh Wali Khân.—Shír Máhomed Khân.—Replaced by Wafadár Khân.—Feigns paralysis.—Sudden cure.—Intrigues with the Súní factions.—Elevates Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh.—Recovers Káshmír.—Supports Prince Kaisar.—Slain at Peshâwer.—Attá Máhomed Khân invites Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh.—Confines him.—Kámrán's revenge.—Attá Máhomed Khân's communication with Dost Máhomed Khân.—His treachery.—Is blinded.—Sudden fall.—Siege of Bálla Hissár.—Escape of Prince Jehánghír.—Preparations at Herát.—Approach of Máhomed Azem Khân.—Dost Máhomed Khân's discontent.—Proclaims Súltân Alí king.—Herát army marches to Kândahár.—Thence to Chahár Assíáh.—Precipitate retreat.—Reasons for.—Kândahár lost to Shâh Máhmúd.—Máhomed Azem Khân invites Shâh Sújah al Múlkh.—Contest with Shâh Sújah al Mulkh.—Ayúb Shâh made king.—Arrangements.—March upon Shíkarpúr.—Dost Máhomed Khân again proclaims Súltân Alí.—Return of Máhomed Azem Khân.—Discussion.—Dost Máhomed Khân's proposal to Sultân Alí.—Máhomed Azem Khân's proposal to Shâh Ayúb.—Súltân Ali strangled.—Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh's army dispersed.—Ingenuity of the Sind Amirs.—Máhomed Azem Khân's presence of mind.—Intrigues in his camp.—Evil intentions of Dost Máhomed Khân and Shír Dil Khân.—Máhomed Azem Khân's retreat.—Expedition against the Sikhs.—Ranjit Singh's measures.—His overtures to the chiefs of Peshâwer.—Flight of Jai Singh.—Dost Máhomed Khân proffers his services to Ranjit Singh.—Máhomed Azem Khân deceived by Yár Máhomed Khân.—Dost Máhomed Khân's design on his treasure.—Máhomed Azem Khân's irresolution.—

Panic and dispersal of his army.—Ranjit Singh occupies Peshâwer.—Divides Peshâwer between Dost Máhomed Khân and Yár Máhomed Khân.—Death of Máhomed Azem Khân.—His character.—Habíb Ulah Khân.—Máhomed Azem Khân's dying recommendation and request.—Fúr Dil Khân reaches Kâbal.—His plans.—Ayúb Shâh's infatuation.—Fúr Dil Khân's interview with Ayúb Shâh.—Opposition of Shâhzâda Ismael.—Is slain.—Deposition of Ayúb Shâh.—Retires to Lahore.—Jabár Khân.—His career.—Defeated in Káshmír.—Governor of the Ghiljis.—His civility to Europeans.—Slighted by Habíb Ulah Khân.—Dost Máhomed Khân's attempts.—Habíb Ulah Khân's folly.—Defection of his chiefs.—Investment of Bálla Hissár.

As soon as practicable, Shâh Máhmúd being left at Herát, Prince Kámrân moved on Kândahár, held by his deputy, and thence upon Kâbal, which was evacuated by the Nawâb Samad Khân. Prince Jehânghír, the youthful son of Prince Kámrân, with Attá Máhomed Khân, son of the Múkhtahár Dowlah, as his principal adviser, was left in charge of the government. Prince Kámrân for the moment retraced his steps.

As soon as the tidings of the vazír's misfortune reached Káshmír, Dost Máhomed Khân was released from the restraint in which he had been placed, and a consultation was naturally held upon the state of affairs. Máhomed Azem Khân, aware of the capture of Kâbal, was inclined to consider the provinces west of the Indus as lost and irrecoverable. He opined that it was prudent to remain quiet in Káshmír, from which he conceited neither the force of Kámrân nor of the Síkhs could dislodge him. Dost Máhomed Khân protested

against so timid and disgraceful a line of policy, urging the duty of revenging the outrage committed upon the vazír, and the shame of abandoning without a contest the land of their fathers. Káshmír, he said, was but a rájá's country, a Hindú country; if lost, at any time to be resumed by the strongest. In conclusion, he volunteered to conduct an expedition against Kámrân, and to attempt the recovery of Kâbal. Máhomed Azem Khân gave Dost Máhomed Khân specie to the amount of two lákhs of rupees, and bills for twice the amount, and allowed him to depart, with a few troops. It would appear, from the scanty resources placed at Dost Máhomed Khân's command, that the Káshmír governor had little notion that he could be successful. He spared a trifle from his well-replenished coffers, and excused himself from the reproach which the world might affix to his reputation if he sat altogether supine. Dost Máhomed Khân marched to Peháwer, where he augmented his troops, and thence to Jelálabád; here his funds were exhausted, and it was debated whether it was practicable to proceed farther. The case was desperate, as was the expedition itself; but a forward movement was decided upon, and the chief with his army neared Kâbal.

It has been seen that Attá Máhomed Khân, Bámí Zai, had been placed by Prince Kámrân to direct his son, Prince Jehânghír; he was now to become the antagonist of Dost Máhomed Khân. To be able, in any way, to comprehend the intrigues

about to be developed, it will be necessary to explain the relations in which he stood with the several parties engaged in them. Displaced from his government of Káshmír by Fatí Khân, whose sister was one of his wives, he had repaired to the court of Prince Kámrân, who, although he had ample reasons to be dissatisfied with him on other grounds, forgot them now that he might be held inimical to the vazír. With another, Attá Máhomed Khân, Alekho Zai, he continually incited Prince Kámrân to remove the obnoxious Fatí Khân. Invested with the dignity of Múkhtahár Dowlah, the direction of affairs at Kâbal was confided to him, Prince Kámrân estimating, and perhaps justly, that he could not reconcile his differences with the Bárak Zais, but forgetful that he might have ambitious views and projects of his own. To elucidate these, and the singular part he was about to act, a slight reference to the history of his family is necessary. His grandfather, Shâh Walí Khân, was the principal minister, or múkhtahár, to Ahmed Shâh, and agreeably to the constitution of the Afghân monarchy, or to the compact between the Dúrání clans under which it was formed, the office was hereditary. On the death of Ahmed Shâh the múkhtahár set up Prince Súlímân, the eldest son, was defeated by Prince Taimúr and slain. The first-born of the Múkhtahár, Shír Máhomed Khân, was recalled from exile by Taimúr Shâh, and installed in his father's dignity. He became known and celebrated as the

Múkhtahár Dowlah. During the reign of Shâh Zemân he was replaced in office by Wafadár Khân, famous in Afghânistân as the Sadú Zai Vazír. This appointment, an infringement upon the settled order of things, was unfortunate to the monarch who made it, and led to all the evils and misfortunes which afterwards happened to himself, and finally to the Sadú Zai supremacy.

Shír Máhomed Khân, deprived of office, feigned paralysis, and throughout the reign of Shâh Zemân was carried in a litter, or hobbled on crutches. On the expulsion of the shâh, and the slaughter of his rival, the Sadú Zai Vazír, he became suddenly cured of his afflictions, threw away his crutches, and again figured in public life as the múkhtahár. He now particularly courted the Súní interests in Kâbal, paid great attention to Mír Wais, and profiting by the absence of the vazír at Kândahár, in conjunction with his Súní friends, and Ahmed Khân, Núr Zai, excited a religious tumult, which elevated to the throne Prince Sújâh al Múlkh, then a fugitive in the Khaibar hills. The new shâh was clearly indebted to the exertions of the Súní leaders of Kâbal for his dignity. The Múkhtahár afterwards recovered Káshmír from Abdúlah Khân, Alekho Zai, and left his own son, Attá Máhomed Khân, in government of the productive province. The shâh contrived to estrange the feelings of the friends to whom he owed so much, and they conceived that as they had raised him to power, so they were

entitled to displace him. Accordingly, when the king had marched towards Sind, the múkhtahár, with his former confederates, released Prince Kaisar from the state prison of the Bálla Hissár, and proclaimed him king. With their new sovereign they marched to Pesháwer, where Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh in all haste arrived, and an action was fought on the Dasht Pakkah, without the city. The shâh would have fled, but was prevented by the crowds behind him; and the rebel leaders pressing forward, unsupported, anxious to secure his person, were slain. The múkhtahár, his brother, Mír Ahmed Khân, with Khwoja Máhomed Khan, Núr Zai, a staunch adherent of Prince Kaisar, simultaneously met a common fate. The prince himself, so lately victorious by the strange accidents of war, as a captive adorned the triumph, scarcely merited, of Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh. It is just to add, that clemency was shown. Attá Máhomed Khân continued in the government of Káshmír; nor was Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh able to remove him. When the shâh became a fugitive Attá Máhomed Khân invited him to Kâshmír, if for no other purpose, to make a tool of him. The shâh, not perfectly compliant, was lodged in the castle of Koh Márân, from which he was released by the vazír, when he recovered the valley from Attá Máhomed Khân. On account of the insults offered to the shâh, Prince Kámrân, although politically hostile to his relative, conceived it due to avenge the injury committed through him

on the dignity of the Sadú Zai family, by submitting the females of the Bámí Zais at Herát to the embraces of mule-drivers. From the above narration, it will be apparent that a sympathy existed between the family of Attá Máhomed Khân and the Súní party at Kâbal; and there can be but little doubt that he now intended, by its assistance, to have made himself independent. A man of considerable ability, he had a fair field before him; but underrating his opponents, instead of circumventing them, he was circumvented by them. Dost Máhomed Khân had reached Khúrd Kâbal, two ordinary marches from the city, and was hesitating whether to advance, when a communication was privately conveyed to him from Attá Máhomed Khân. Dost Máhomed Khân, deceived, or trusting to his dexterity to outwit his antagonist, moved forwards, but circuitously, and cautiously, feeling his way to the eminences of Bímárú, to the north. Attá Máhomed Khân left the Bálla Hissár with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and marched, as he gave out, to annihilate the rebels. He advanced on Bímárú, Dost Máhomed Khân's troops slowly receding as he approached them. On the heights he harangued his men, and denounced the wrath of heaven and the pains of hell on any one who should betray Shâh Máhmúd, Shâhzâda Kámrân, or Shâhzâda Jehânghír. With the same breath, in a style peculiarly Afghân, he turned round, and in whispers, inquired for a Korân. The

sacred book was produced, Attá Máhomed Khân sealed it, and with renewed oaths despatched it to Dost Máhomed Khân. A succession of marches and countermarches, of slight skirmishes, and other feints, for a few days, was necessary, that a becoming quantity of oaths should be exchanged on both sides; and that the confidential agents of the parties should arrange preliminaries. They ill-concealed the understanding, however enigmatical, between Attá Máhomed Khân and the Barák Zai chiefs. One fact was glaring, that the interests of Kámrân were betrayed, and the safety of his son compromised. At length interviews were exchanged between the Múkhtahár and rebel chiefs, and at one of these, which took place at the Búrj Vazír, a pleasure-house built by Fatí Khân, the former was thrown on the ground, and blinded by Pír Máhomed Khân, the younger of the vazír's brothers. Of the brothers with Dost Máhomed Khân all had exchanged oaths with the Múkhtahár, except Pír Máhomed Khân, who, from his youth, had not been required to do so. Many versions are given of this affair. The friends of the Bárak Zai chiefs pretend that the Múkhtahár intended to have blown them up. Others wholly deny this statement, and regard the occurrence as naturally arising in a contest for power between desperate and reckless men. The deprivation of sight was in retaliation of the injury inflicted on the vazír, owing somewhat, it is said, to Attá Máhomed Khân's instigation. His schemes

of ambition were in a moment given to the wind, and he withdrew to obscurity and retirement. He now resides at Alíabád near Kâbal, unnoticed and little pitied. It is remembered, that when governor of Káshmír, the plucking out of eyes was one of his ordinary punishments. His calamity afforded the son of Prince Kámrân and his adherents the opportunity of admiring that the traitor had been entrapped in his own snares.

Dost Máhomed Khân relieved from a formidable foe, or an embarrassing friend, was now enabled to besiege the Bálla Hissár. Pernicious, or treacherous counsel prevailed upon Prince Jehânghír to evacuate the lower citadel, and to shut himself up in the upper one. The empty fortress was immediately occupied by the enemy. Batteries were erected on the plain to the east, and a mine was conducted from the houses at the foot of the upper citadel, under the bastion of the principal entrance to it. Intelligence thereof was conveyed to the garrison, who were on the alert. It was sprung, but did not fully prove successful. The situation of the prince became exceedingly critical. In the bloom of youth, and remarkably handsome, the vows of the fair sex of Kâbal were offered up for his safety. They may have interested heaven in his behalf. A night, when all was darkness, and rain fell in torrents, enabled him, with his followers, to leave the upper citadel by the Derwâza Kâshí, unperceived. Filing under its walls, he gained the

Kotal Kheddar; and crossing it, took the road to Ghazní. Dost Máhomed Khân did not pursue.

By an astonishing run of good fortune, Dost Máhomed Khân had become master of Kâbal, but it does not appear that he was able to profit by the advantage so far as to march upon Ghazní. He soon discovered that a more serious struggle was before him, as Shâh Máhmúd and the Prince Kámrân had marched, or were about to march from Herát. The hope to contend with their large army might have been preposterous had not so much unlooked-for success already justified him to hope for anything, and accordingly he prepared to resist the storm impending.

When intelligence of the possession of Kâbal reached Káshmír, Máhomed Azem Khân put his troops in motion, but probably made no farther remittances to Dost Máhomed Khân. As elder brother, and representative of the family, he could not allow, as he conceited, the takht, or capital, to remain in the hands of Dost Máhomed Khân, who might affect to consider him in Káshmír as a vassal governor. It is not unlikely that this sirdár would have been better pleased that the city had not been wrested from Kámrân, as he perhaps never expected that his brother would have been able to win it. Dost Máhomed Khân, on his part, was too shrewd not to be able to penetrate the secret feelings of his elder brother's bosom, and to be conscious how jealously he was

regarded by most of the members of his family. It also mortified him that his exertions and triumphs should only contribute to the aggrandisement of others. He felt that injustice was offered to him, while all his own ambitious ideas were thwarted. These he could not consent to forego; and to cherish them in spite of circumstances frequently led to perplexity and enthralment. Elate, perhaps, at his successes, he soon began to evince a show of independence of action, and its first display was in the proclamation of Shâhzâda Súltân Alí as king; he naturally fell into the dignity of vazír. This was strange news for Máhomed Azem Khân and the rest of the family. This prince had officiated as governor of Kâbal under Shâh Máhmúd with considerable credit, and was one of the Sadú Zai princes, most respected for good sense and conduct. It is probable, that had he ascended the throne under favourable circumstances he would have made a reputable sovereign. As it was, his funds and contributions from one or the other sufficed to place about two thousand cavalry at the command of Dost Máhomed Khân to meet the overwhelming force from Herát.

The flight of Púr Dil Khân to Andálí, and his preparations to avenge the outrage offered to his brother, Fatí Khán, have been elsewhere noted. By a strange fatality, the royal army avoided Andálí *en route* to Kândahár, thereby leaving the five brothers with their levies in the rear. These,

as soon as the army had proceeded towards Kâbal, appeared before Kândahár, and summoned Gúl Máhomed Khân, the governor, to surrender it. He consented to do so, in case his sovereign should be defeated at Kâbal, and entreated the confederated brothers to retire until the issue of the contest should be known. They complied. Shâh Máhmúd and his son advanced to Chahár Assíáh, six or seven miles from Kâbal; when, abandoning their equipage, they suddenly decamped, and, by the road of the Hazárajât, precipitately gained Herát. The counsels of Sâlú Khân, otherwise known as Shâh Pessand Khân, are believed to have occasioned this flight. It may be so; but, when it is asserted there was no ostensible cause for it, facts prove that there was too much. Shâh Máhmúd and Kámrân had, of course, become acquainted with the dubious loyalty of the Kândahár governor; and the retreat of the five brothers would be, in their estimation, a more portentous event, as it might be supposed they would menace Herát. That this fear prevailed is shown by the haste made to reach it; otherwise, the enterprise upon Kâbal would have been worked out, or, if a retreat had been judged necessary, it would naturally have been upon Kândahár, where the traitor and the rebels might have been at once crushed.

While the royal army was at Chahár Assíáh, Dost Máhomed Khân, and his followers in the

neighbourhood, were standing with their horses' bridles in their hands, and the advance of the force would have been the signal for their dispersion and flight. Of this Shâh Máhmúd and his son were not, perhaps, aware, and therefore listened to the evil suggestions of Sâlú Khân, that the Dúránís of the army had concerted to betray them, and to follow the example of Gúl Máhomed Khân at Kândahár. Dost Máhomed Khân did not credit the retreat of his enemies until Názir Diláwer, a fugitive, and the only one from the abandoned camp, came and confirmed it. He then marched forward, and took possession of the empty tents. When the royal army reached Ghazní, Prince Kámrân, finding it entire, and that a defection of the Dúránís had not taken place, was willing to have returned upon Kâbal, but was overruled. The brothers at Andálí had not made a dash at Herát; but, receiving exaggerated reports of the discomfiture of the Herát army, they marched to intercept its remnants, and fell back when they found it unbroken. Gúl Máhomed Khân surrendered Kândahár, and his subsequent fate has been already noticed. It is hard to say whether he was a traitor in intention or not. He may have reasoned that "the royal army is all-powerful, and must succeed at Kâbal, when the Andálí brothers will disband their troops, or be deserted by them." Again, when he witnessed the extent of the evil he had occasioned, how could

he face his sovereign, or trust himself in the power of the implacable Kámrân ?

Dost Máhomed Khân's good fortune may be said to have won Kâbal a second time. His brother, Máhomed Azem Khân, had arrived at Peshâwer, having left his half-brother, Jabár Khân, in charge of Káshmír. He had no sooner left the valley than the Síkhs prepared to attempt its conquest. From Peshâwer Máhomed Azem Khân sent an invitation to the ex-king, Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh, to join him. This measure loses its singularity when the existence of Súltân Alí as king at Kâbal is considered, as respect for the Sádú Zai princes had not been yet wholly destroyed. So important did Máhomed Azem Khân judge it to have a prince of the royal blood in his camp that he did not venture to move on Kâbal without one. Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh arrived at Peshâwer, and the premature exhibition of his exalted notions of regal dignity led to a battle between him and his inviters. The Shâh, defeated, fled, and found his way to Shikárpúr. Máhomed Azem Khân now adopted the Prince Ayúb as king, no better being to be found, and, thus provided, took the road to Kâbal. On the retreat of the Herát army Dost Máhomed Khân had made himself master of Ghazní, in which he placed his brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, very likely foreseeing that it would be the only hold he could contrive to retain. He was unable to

oppose Máhomed Azem Khân, with his large army and treasures, with all the weight of the family united against him, for now the brother sirdárs of Kândahár would have marched to support the head of the family. A good deal of mediation and altercation, of course, ensued, but it terminated in the acknowledgment of Máhomed Azem Khân as sirdár, and Ayúb Shâh as nominal sovereign. Dost Máhomed Khân was permitted to possess Ghazní, and the brothers, who had obtained Kândahár, were judged worthy to hold it. Jabár Khân, who had been defeated, wounded, and driven from Káshmír, was placed in charge of the Ghiljís dependant on Kâbal; Máhomed Zemân Khân, son of the Nawâb Assad Khân, was appointed to Jelálabád; Yár Máhomed Khân and his brothers to Pesháwer; and the Nawâb Samad Khân, resident at Kâbal, to Kohât and Hângú. By this distribution the country was fairly partitioned amongst the several members of the family, and perhaps most or all of them were satisfied, except Dost Máhomed Khân. It was now the common interest to repel foreign invasion, and to preserve the family *statu quo.* The former was to be apprehended from Herát and from the Panjâb. For an infraction of the latter Dost Máhomed Khân was principally to be dreaded. In consequence of the recognition of Shâh Ayúb, the monarch of Dost Máhomed's creation, Shâh Súltân Alí quietly descended into private life. His

enjoyment of brief sovereignty had cost him the little wealth he had accumulated.

The first care of Máhomed Azem Khân was directed towards Shíkarpúr, where Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh was organizing an army. It was determined to march and disperse it. The several members of the confederacy supplied quotas of troops, and many personally attended. The army marched from Kâbal, the new Shâh Ayúb accompanying it. It had passed Ghazní, when Dost Máhomed Khân returned to Kâbal, drew Shâh Súltân Alí from retirement, and anew proclaimed him king. Máhomed Azem Khân was compelled to retrace his steps. Shâh Súltân Alí, on the arrival of Shâh Ayúb in Kâbal, had abandoned the palace of the Bálla Hissár, in which Dost Máhomed Khân had seated him, and retired to the Bâgh Vazír. He still resided there. It is difficult to account for Dost Máhomed Khân's conduct, unless we suppose him desirous of creating as much annoyance and trouble as he could, or that there was a concerted plan to remove Shâh Súltân Alí, who, as before noted, was a person of some ability. After some of the ordinary querulous discussion amongst the brothers, and the intervention of friends, some arrangement was determined upon, and Dost Máhomed Khân, protesting his fidelity, submitted to Shâh Súltân Alí that to secure himself as sovereign he must cut off Shâh Ayúb. Shâh Súltân Alí indignantly rejected the proposal, and reviled him

who dared to make it. Dost Máhomed Khân had eased his conscience: he had shown the prince the only mode, under circumstances, by which he could preserve himself, and if he declined to adopt it the error was his own. On his own part, he felt absolved from interesting himself about the fate of a prince who was himself reckless of it. He wished the prince to remove into the Bálla Hissár, which he did, occupying his own house. Máhomed Azem Khân next urged upon Shâh Ayúb the necessity of putting to death Shâh Súltân Alí, promising, if he complied, that he would in like manner dispose of Dost Máhomed Khân. Shâh Ayúb had the baseness to consent. The two shâhs, for the few days they lived together in the Bálla Hissár, visited each other, and sat on the same masnad. At length prince Ismael, with a servant, strangled the unfortunate Shâh Súltân Alí, when reposing, after an entertainment given to him. Shâh Ayúb now asked Máhomed Azem Khân to redeem his pledge as to Dost Máhomed Khân. The chief observed, "How can I slay my brother?" It is as unpleasant to comment on such revolting transactions as to narrate them. Dost Máhomed Khân had reconciled his conscience; and the sirdár may have presumed that he was guiltless of a crime committed by another. If one Sádú Zai put to death another they could not help it. The advantages of the perfidy they derived in the disappear-

ance of a source of embarrassment; and the army was again put in motion for Shikárpúr.

Taking the route of Ghazní and Shâll, where it was joined by the Kândahár contingent, it finally neared its destination. The army of Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh melted away before it, but the sirdár was detained some time in the arrangement of the Sind tribute.

The Amírs had collected a numerous rabble, and a variety of negotiations were carried on, the Dúránís anxious to get as much as they could, and the Amírs willing to pay as little as they could help. The latter also made an experiment to disperse their obnoxious guests, by making a feigned attack by night on their camp. Muskets were discharged from the thickets on all sides, to the consternation of the Dúránís, who were well disposed to have given way to panic, but the presence of mind of their leader saved them. He did not move from his tent, but called for his musicians, affecting not even to notice the matter, taking care, however, to issue, without *éclat*, the necessary instructions to preserve order. In the morning the Amírs of Sind sent respectfully to inquire concerning the sirdár's health, and to express their hopes that the tohí, or wedding, they had celebrated during the night had not disturbed his sleep. Máhomed Azem Khân had purposed to have well riddled the treasures of the ingenious

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Amírs, but the intrigues in his camp made him unwillingly accept an obligation to pay twelve lákhs of rupees from them, three lákhs of which was made over to him, and the remainder was never paid. The sirdár was overburthened with treasure, the fruits of his government in Káshmír, but to preserve it he was constrained to carry it about with him. It was now in the camp, and Dost Máhomed Khân, with Shír Dil Khân, had projected to seize it. The discovery of the foul plot precipitated the retreat of Máhomed Azem Khân, and saved the Amírs of Sind from a heavy sacrifice of their hoarded wealth.

The sirdár next set on foot an expedition against the Síkhs, who, elate with the capture of Káshmír, and the possession of Atak, were supposed to contemplate ulterior aggressive measures. The spirit of the Dúrání chieftains had not yet been broken; the triumphs of the infidels were imputed to fraud and accident, and it was confidently believed that the sword would repel them, and drive them from their recent acquisitions. The defeat at Haidaro had thrown no disgrace on the valour of those engaged, and Máhomed Azem Khân remembered that Ranjit Singh was not invincible, for he had inflicted a severe chastisement upon him on the Túsa Maidân in Káshmír, when first his ambitious projects led him personally to invade the mountain-girt valley. Great preparations were made for the war, and agents were despatched into

the hilly regions north of the course of the Kâbal river, to arouse the fanatic population, and to draw out their gallant bands to co-operate in the great fight of the faith. Ranjit Singh, with no less activity, prepared for the struggle. That shrewd chieftain knew too well the weak points of his Dúrání opponents to neglect assailing them at so critical a conjuncture. He was conscious that it was easier to disunite them by artifice than to conquer them in the field. His agents had already began to tamper with the brother chiefs of Pesháwer. It was represented to them that they had an opportunity of experiencing the favour and liberality of the sirkár, and of securing the possession of their territories in absolute independence. It was not asked in return that they should betray their elder brother, but that they should so contrive that he should quietly return to Kâbal. The Pesháwer chiefs were soothed with the notion of throwing off dependence on Máhomed Azem Khân, forgetful that in so doing they became vassals of Ranjit Singh. In another point of view, the chances of the war were doubtful, and they felt it to be their interest to confirm themselves in power, let what would happen. They listened complacently, therefore, to Ranjit Singh's overtures, and clandestinely entered into communications with him. Máhomed Azem Khân eventually marched from Kâbal, and, taking the route of Jelálabád and the pass of Karapa, arrived at Min-

chiní, where he deposited his treasures. He then crossed the river of Kâbal, and reached Pesháwer. Dost Máhomed Khân attended the army, and the halt at this place led to the loss of his old Síkh friend, Jai Singh. The advanced detachments of the Dúrání and Síkh armies had approached near enough to each other for occasional skirmishes to happen. One day, some thirty Síkh heads were brought in, and affixed to the house of Jai Singh. He accepted the act as a warning to decamp, and fled to the Síkh army. He was afterwards slain in the Panjâb.

Dost Máhomed Khân, aware that his brothers of Pesháwer had an understanding with the enemy, signified to the elder, Yár Máhomed Khân, his desire of becoming an accomplice. Yár Máhomed Khân did not fail to encourage him or to boast to the Síkhs the extent of his services in securing to their interest the most warlike of the sirdár's brothers. Ranjit Singh had now crossed the Atak, and Máhomed Azem Khân was encamped at Noshára. Negotiations, so fatal to Dúránís, were carried on, and Yár Máhomed Khân, on the part of the sirdár, was in the Síkh camp. What could be expected from such an envoy? Either wilfully, or at the dictation of the Síkhs, he wrote delusive letters to Máhomed Azem Khân, and informed him that it was contemplated to seize his háram and treasure at Minchiní. The treasure was a constant source of solicitude to the ill-fated sirdár.

He was compelled to carry it with him, and then had difficulty to preserve it.

Dost Máhomed Khân stands again accused of having directed his unhallowed attention to it. A sharp action had taken place on the opposite side of the river, between a portion of the Sikh troops and the levies of the Yusef Zai districts. Ranjit Singh was in person at the contest, and although it is pretended that he crossed the river on a hunting excursion, and accident brought about the conflict, yet the fact of his having passed seemed to countenance the report of designs upon Minchiní and the treasure. Máhomed Azem Khân was in sore uneasiness of mind, he wept, tore his beard, and inveighed bitterly against the treason of his brethren. He foresaw the disgrace of retiring without a struggle from the field; nor could he endure the reflection that his wives and treasure should fall into the hands of Ranjit Singh. Undetermined whether to stand his ground or to retreat; now deciding upon the one, now upon the other alternative, his indecision was communicated to his army. The infection spread, and augmented to panic. The dark shades of night magnified the existing doubt and terror; the whole camp was in movement. All were packing up and deserting it as a haunted spot, without any one knowing why. The morning came, but the army no longer existed. The unfortunate Máhomed Azem Khân collected its wrecks, and picking up his háram and

wealth at Minchiní, crossed the Momand hills, and regained the valley of Jelálabád. The object of Ranjit Singh being obtained, he had no farther need of Yar Máhomed Khân, and dismissed him to join his fugitive brothers, and to plot fresh mischief. The Síkh chief entered Pesháwer, but so excited was the state of public feeling throughout the country that he did not think prudent to retain it. Yár Máhomed Khân and Dost Máhomed Khân were privately sent for, and they repaired to Pesháwer from the Dúrání camp at Dáka. Ranjit Singh rewarded their treason to their brother and their services to himself by dividing the territory of Pesháwer equally between them, very expertly placing Dost Máhomed Khân in an antagonist position to the brothers of Yár Máhomed Khân, and thereby providing for the support of strife and dissensions amongst them. Dost Máhomed Khân for some time resided at Hashtnagar, not ashamed to be indebted for territory to Ranjit Singh. Máhomed Azem Khân, exhausted by vexation, fell into a dysentery, which carried him to the grave. He may be truly said to have died broken-hearted. It may be useless to speculate on what did not occur. We shall not inquire, therefore, what might have been the state of affairs had he adhered to his original intention of contenting himself with Káshmír; or if, when Dost Máhomed Khân had won Kâbal, he had permitted him to have retained it. No doubt a knowledge of his younger brother's

character influenced him, and he foresaw the chance of having the resources of Kâbal directed against him. Máhomed Azem Khân had considerable ability; was showy, munificent, and dignified. He was esteemed worthy of his high station. In private life he was free, social and devoted to pleasure, but not at the expense of business. His qualities were compatible with friendship, and amongst his dependent chiefs he could boast of many friends. He was succeeded by his elder son, Habíb Ulah Khân, a rash headstrong youth, elevated in the full indulgence of his unruly passions, and in the midst of all kinds of excesses. His vices and failings were rather of habit than of the heart, and to atone for them he possessed indomitable personal bravery and lavish generosity. Unfortunately he had recklessness in place of judgment, and was utterly unfit to contend with his keen and rapacious uncles, in the struggle which it required no prophetical skill to divine they would excite. The dying father, conscious of his son's incapacity and want of discretion, recommended him to the care of his uncle, Jabár Khân; he placed their hands within each other, and conjured his brother to supply his place as father, while he implored his son to wipe off the disgrace he had suffered before the Síkhs.

The intelligence of the dangerous disorder of Máhomed Azem Khân had brought Púr Dil Khân from Kândahár. The shâh, of the sirdár's creation, Ayúb, will not have been forgotten. He still re-

sided in the Bálla Hissár. On the demise of Máhomed Azem Khân, the Shâhzâda Ismael, the instrument previously of removing Shâh Súltân Alí, intreated his father to arise and seize the treasures of the departed chief. There were not wanting many who would have aided in the enterprise. The indolent and corpulent Ayúb rebuked his son as a blockhead, who, to no purpose, assured him that it was the only mode of preserving himself against the evil intentions of Fúr Dil Khân. Shâhzâda Ismael, finding his father deaf to all his representations, left the city on pretence of a pleasure-party to Sanjitak, but in reality intending to retire to Pesháwer. The father, apprised thereof, sent after him, and induced his return. The plans of Fúr Dil Khân were no secret, and very many persons wished the shâh to take precautionary measures, offering to support him in case he did. The infatuated prince was accustomed to revile such advisers, and affected to disbelieve what they reported to him. At length the sirdár intimated to the shâh his intention of making a visit to him in the Bálla Hissár. The shâh consented, and merely ordered that the sirdár only should be admitted within the entrance-gate of the fortress. In the morning the sirdár appeared at the gate, and his followers, Kohistânís principally, rushed in and filled the bazár Araba. On reaching the entrance of the palace another effort was made to exclude the armed followers of the sirdár, but another rush introduced them, and they spread over

the courts. The sirdár, and his brother, Meher Dil Khân, with a few attendants, ascended the staircase and entered the darbár apartment, where the shâh and his son, Prince Ismael, were seated. Salutations were exchanged, and some loose conversation took place, until the sirdárs began to motion with their eyes to each other, and to their followers. It may be presumed, that Prince Ismael perceived the signs, for he seized his carbine, laying before him, and presented it at the sirdárs. The Kohistânís, who had surrounded the father and son, were able to turn the direction of the carbine, but a Kohistâní was killed, and others were wounded by its discharge. The unfortunate prince was immediately shot by the companions of the man slain, the shâh was made prisoner, and the palace became a scene of plunder. One Hâjí Alí, who is also reported to have shot the prince, despoiled the shâh of his raiments, and clad him in his own; then, by the sirdár's orders, placed him behind himself on a horse, and carried him off to the Búrj Vazír. A singular spectacle was offered to the people of the city as Hâjí Alí bore the degraded monarch along the streets, but they had become familiar with extraordinary events and regarded them with apathy. The sirdárs, when they had given the orders, consequent on the feat they had performed, returned to their dwellings in the city with the same composure after the deposition of a monarch as if they had been enjoying a morning's ride. The delusion

of royalty which invested Shâh Ayúb was too apparent to deceive any one, and it seemed as if the mock dignity had been conferred upon him purposely to bring it and the Sadú Zai family into contempt. Púr Dil Khân terminated the farce, and did not feel himself bound to tolerate a shadow of his deceased brother's creation. Shâh Ayúb was treated with much indignity in the Búrj Vazír, and it was wished to have tortured him that he might surrender treasure. By intervention a compromise was agreed upon, and on the payment of a lakh of rupees the shâh was released, and had liberty to go where he might list. Máhomed Zemân Khân on this occasion behaved generously, and put the unfortunate prince in a condition to travel to Lahore with comfort. Ranjit Singh allowed him one thousand rupees *per mensem*. His brother, Shâhzâda Ibráhím, who resided at Pesháwer, was enabled, on news reaching of the events at Kâbal, to retire across the Atâk, with his family and wealth entire. It may be noted also, that the Nawâb Jabár Khân privately conveyed to Shâh Ayúb intelligence of his danger.

Jabár Khân, commonly called the nawâb, from having held the government of Déra Ghází Khân, was one of the more elderly of the sons of Sirafráz Khân, but having lost his mother at an early age, his education and fortune were for some time neglected. Máhomed Azem Khân at length noticed him, and pressed his claims on the attention of the vazír, who appointed him successively to the

governments of Déra Ghází Khân and of Kâbal. In both offices he acquitted himself highly to the satisfaction of the governed, but not equally so to that of the vazír. Besides, in common with his brothers, entertaining exalted notions of his importance, and affecting independence of action, he forgot to remit the revenues of his provinces. On these accounts the vazír more than once treated him with severity, and he was obliged to seek asylum with Máhomed Azem Khân, who invariably received him with kindness, and protected him. When deprived of the government of Kâbal, he fled to Káshmír, and induced Máhomed Azem Khân to assume so suspicious an attitude that the vazír marched against him. A battle took place. The vazír, defeated in the field, rode singly into his brother's camp, and embraced him for having so worthily proved himself a soldier, but expostulated with him on allowing Jabár to sow dissensions between them. When Mâhomed Azem Khân left Káshmír Jabár Khân was made governor. Five months scarcely elapsed when a Síkh army entered the province. With more rashness than sense, without forming his troops, he advanced, with a few followers, in front of the hostile line. A volley brought nearly all to the ground, and amongst them Jabár Khân, who had received five or six musket-shots. It was with difficulty they contrived to carry him off. No battle, but flight and slaughter followed. Káshmír was lost to the Dúránís. In the distribution of territory,

which succeeded the establishment of Máhomed Azem Khân at Kâbal, Jabár Khân acquired the government of the Ghiljís, dependent thereon. This nobleman has always shown particular civility to European travellers who have visited Afghânistân, and always expresses his desire that some political understanding may originate between Kâbal and India. He may, probably, in this respect, have imbibed the sentiments of his brother, Máhomed Azem Khân.

The deceased sirdár in no way imitated the destructive policy of the vazír as to the Dúrání chiefs. He collected as many as he could about him, and by munificent donations contributed to improve their broken fortunes. His court was very respectable. His son soon reversed the order of things, and, immersed in dissipation, surrounded himself with the profligate and abandoned of all classes. He conducted the government at first by means of his father's officers, but they became speedily disgusted, and either retired or were displaced. The counsels of the Nawâb Jabár Khân were, of course, slighted.

Dost Máhomed Khân did not fail to observe that a field of action was open to him, and he saw a fair chance of wresting from the infatuated son that Kâbal which he pretended the father had unjustly taken from him. His territories at Peshâwer he consigned to the charge of deputies,

and hastened to Kâbal, where he connected himself with all the turbulent spirits of the country.

Hostilities soon broke out; and for some months there were incessant contests, in which Habíb Ulah Khân, from his superior force, came off victorious, and Dost Máhomed Khân fled to the Kohistân, or to Ghazní, to recruit his means and prepare for a renewed struggle. At length Habíb Ulah exasperated the Nawâb Jabár Khân, by depriving him of his government, which he gave to a dissolute attendant of his orgies, Nazír Alí Máhomed; and farther alienated Amínúlah Khân, Logharí, one of his father's confidential servants, and a person of the highest influence, by seeking to destroy him. The results were, that the Nawâb Jabár Khân inclined to the cause of Dost Máhomed Khân, who again appeared in the field, and that, in an action fought on the Dasht Kergah, near the city, Amínúlah Khân, and his associates, went over to him in a body. Habíb Ulah Khân defeated, retired within the Bálla Hissár, which, Dost Máhomed Khân, taking possession of the city, immediately invested.

CHAPTER IV.

The Kândahár sirdárs march to the aid of Habíb Ulah Khân.—Dost Máhomed Khân retires.—Seizure of Habíb Ulah Khân.—Dost Máhomed Khân asserts himself his avenger.—Sad state of Kâbal.—Favourable dispositions to Dost Máhomed Khân.—The Kândahár sirdárs desirous to secure and blind him. —Saved by Hâjí Khân. — New arrangements. — Hâjí Khân's freak.—Engages in Dost Máhomed Khân's service. — Súltân Máhomed Khân's errors.—His lax government.—Besieged by Dost Máhomed Khân. —Retires to Peshâwer. — Ahmed Shâh. —His pretensions. — His success with the Yusáf Zais. —Offends the Peshâwer sirdárs. — Is betrayed by them. — New claims of Dost Máhomed Khân's brothers.—Reduction of Zúrmat.—Return to Kâbal, and welcome.—Saiyad Ahmed Shâh's movements. —Dost Máhomed Khân's assistance to his Peshâwer brothers. — Extravagancies of Habíb Ulah Khân.—His followers seduced by Dost Máhomed Khân. — Discomfiture of the Nawâb Jabár Khân.—March of Dost Máhomed Khân to Taghow.—His apprehensions of Mazúlah.—Death of Mazúlah.—Designs on Jelálabád.—Defection in Dost Máhomed Khân's army. — Arrangements. — Oaths. — Resumption of the Ghiljí government. — Remarks on Dost Máhomed Khân's character. — His talents for business. — His administration.—Projects of Shâh Sújáh-al-Múlkh.—Sentiments of the people. — Of Dost Máhomed Khân. — Proposal to assume royalty rejected. — Arrival of mission from Kúndúz. — Visit of Mír Alam Khân. — Views on Bájor. — Rumours and reports.

THE brother chiefs at Kândahár and Peshâwer had not been indifferent to the events passing at

Kâbal. It neither accorded with their feelings nor policy that Dost Máhomed Khân should obtain the country, or what remained of the treasure of their deceased brother. Circumstances had not allowed them to act before; or so long as Habíb Ulah Khân was the victor so much necessity for movement did not exist. Now that he was besieged, it behoved them to take prompt measures. Shír Dil Khân, with his brothers, hastened to Kâbal, on the plea of assisting Habíb Ulah Khân. A variety of desultory actions followed, interluded by overtures and negotiations, and Dost Máhomed Khân was ultimately compelled to fly to the Kohistân. The Kândahár chiefs congratulated Habíb Ulah Khân; and assuring him that he might always depend upon their aid against the evil designs of Dost Máhomed Khân, intimated their intention of returning to Kândahár. They joined their pêsh-khâna, fixed at Alíabád, without the city. Habíb Ulah paid them, as he thought, a farewell visit, when he was seized by Meher Dil Khân, and instantly smuggled off to a castle in Loghar, belonging to Khodâ Nazzar, a Ghiljí, and confidential minister of the brothers. The perfidious uncles as instantly mounted, and took possession of the city and Bálla Hissár. It need not be remarked, that what remained of the treasure fell into their hands. Neither did they scruple, on the score of delicacy, as to the means of eliciting it. It is possible that Shír Dil Khân may have contemplated the retention of Kâal, but a little

experience proved it was not practicable. Dost Máhomed Khân was again in arms, as the avenger of Habíb Ulah Khân, and the oppressive measures of Khodâ Nazzar, or Mámá, as commonly called, intrusted with the charge of the city, had estranged the good-will of all. The brother chiefs of Peshá-wer had eventually reached Kâbal, and a strange medley of counsels and consultations prevailed. It would be impossible to detail the proceedings of this period, or the intrigues carried on. The differences of the several brothers produced a chaos of confusion, and although nothing was settled amongst themselves, many of their partisans were involved in disaster. Their followers have been engaged in deadly strife when the rival leaders were sitting together over a plate of cherries. The settlement of their pretensions was ultimately accelerated by a manifestation of public feeling. The state of Kâbal must have been terrific; and the reflecting at last began to think as to what course they should adopt to terminate it. The Júânshirs and the Shía community determined to support Dost Máhomed Khân, and that chief secretly repaired to the city, and entered into engagements with them. During the consultations that had passed between the brothers it had been decided to put to death, or to blind, Dost Máhomed Khân; and on one occasion, when he had been allured to an interview, he had been placed in a chamber, and the door had been chained. Compunc-

tion, or the intercession of some one, saved him, and he left the house unconscious of the danger he had been exposed to. Now that it was known that the Shía community had espoused his cause, strenuous efforts were made again to secure his person and to blind him, if no more. Dost Máhomed Khân's extreme caution was overcome, and he came, intending to have an interview with his brothers. He was about to have entered the apartment where his fate would have been sealed, when Hâjí Khân, in the secret, motioned him to retire. He did so, mounted his horse and galloped off. The Khâka soldier of fortune, in the service at this time of Shír Dil Khân, was able to discern that, backed by Kazilbásh influence, Dost Máhomed Khân had every chance of establishing himself. He had ever, from his acquaintance at Herát, had certain sympathies with him, and now he had determined to join his fortunes with those of Dost Máhomed Khân. It was felicitous to preface the connexion by a signal service. The delusive arrangements tendered by the brothers to their kinsman with the view of betraying him, were converted into effective and real ones by the force of circumstances. It had been decided, as treachery had failed, to have had another appeal to arms; it had also been concerted by those willing to close the fearful drama enacting, to have slain one of the brothers in the expected combat, and by producing a blood feud amongst them, to

have led to their mutual extermination. The fact became known, and it was felt indispensable to accommodate matters without risking the safety of the family. By the new basis agreed upon Dost Máhomed Khân received the Kohistân and Ghazní, but as he had lost the territories at Pesháwer, he benefited principally by the more favourable position he was placed in. The city of Kâbal was given to Súltân Máhomed Khân, the second of the Pesháwer brothers. Jabár Khân was reinstated in the Ghiljí government, and Habíb Ulah Khân, released from captivity, received the districts of Loghar and Ghorband. The governments of Jelálabád, Pesháwer, and Kândahár were not affected.

When the sirdárs of Kândahár were about to leave Kâbal Hâjí Khân was missing, and it was discovered that he had retired to a shrine in the city, and that, professing to have become a fáquír, he had deprived himself of his clothing, and was seated, in great humility, with a langoti, or cloth bound round his loins. The sirdárs went to him, and asking if he was mad, conjured him to arise and go back with them; but he swore that he had renounced the world, and, as a fáquír, intended to pass the remainder of his days in seclusion, prayer, and repentance. Whatever the sirdárs thought of such assurances, they could not overcome his resolution, and time not allowing them much opportunity to reason with him, they left

him behind. As soon as they were gone Dost Máhomed Khân was in the presence of the penitent fáquír, and calling him bábá, or father, besought him not to desert him in his new situation, for which he was chiefly indebted to him, and entreated him to get up and become his vazír. Hâji Khân set forth his abhorrence of power, and the great crimes it leads men to commit; but Dost Máhomed Khân was so earnest and affectionate that suddenly his scruples vanished, and avowing that he had always loved the sirdár, he declared that he would serve him even if he lost his own soul.

Within the year after his return from Kâbal with the plunder of his nephew, died Shír Dil Khân, leaving his ill-gotten wealth to be spoliated by his brothers. By his decease Dost Máhomed Khân lost the brother most capable of opposing his advancement, and the one whose activity and valour he most dreaded. Súltân Máhomed Khân at Kâbal experienced that he had a dangerous neighbour in the Kohistân. Unluckily for this chief, the union of the Kazilbáshes with Dost Máhomed Khân drove him into the arms of the Súní party too exclusively; and looking upon his brother's friends as enemies to himself, he treated them with harshness and contempt. The city under his administration bid fair to become the theatre of religious dissensions; it had already begun to be a prey to disorder, which it may be conceived Dost Máhom-

ed Khân's emissaries fomented. Súltân Máhomed Khân was wonderfully fond of splendid dresses, and his predilection for finery and embroidery had earned him the *sobriquet* of Súltân Máhomed Khân Tilláhí (the golden Súltân Máhomed Khân). Not deficient in ability, he seemed ill-suited to govern, and while capable of business, seemed to dislike it. Respectable both in the field and cabinet, he willingly fled from both to the pleasures of the háram. His public measures were lax, and he left much to his officers. It is said, that during his sway there were as many hákams, or governors, in the city as there were kúchas, or sections. It required a more vigilant chief to contend with the restless and indefatigable Dost Máhomed Khân.

When, finally, Súltân Máhomed Khân received a message from his brother that he must evacuate the city, or dispute its possession on the plain, he exclaimed against his perfidy and perjury instead of exerting himself to oppose him. His Súní friends, however, warded off one or two attacks, but their chief became invested in the Bálla Hissár. As no movement was made from Kândahár or Peshâwer for his relief, it may be presumed that it was not convenient to afford it. Be this as it may, by the intervention of friends a treaty was concluded by which Súltân Máhomed Khân consented to retire to Peshâwer, and Dost Máhomed Khân bound himself to remit, annually, one lákh of rupees in return. As the Peshâwer chief evacuated the Bálla

Hissár by the eastern gate the fortunate Dost Máhomed Khân passed into it by the western gate. His partisans and the populace manned the ramparts, and in derision shouted after the retiring Súltân Máhomed Khân, "Khush amadíd, Súltân Máhomed Khân, Tilláhi," or Good-b'ye to you, Golden Súltân Máhomed Khân.

Dost Máhomed Khân had now attained the first object of his ambition, the possession of Kábal; but he well knew it would be disputed with him as soon as his brothers of Kândahár and Pesháwer were able to take the field. He had profited by their embarrassed situation, and in place of assisting them had seized the occasion to aggrandize himself. To understand the events now passing it must be observed, that some time previously the celebrated fanatic and impostor, Ahmed Shâh, had passed through these countries into the Yusaf Zai districts, assuming a delegated power from above to exterminate the Síkhs, and to make himself master of the Panjâb, of Hindostán, and of China. The shrewd chiefs of Kâbal and Pesháwer, while showing him the attentions due to a saiyad, were not quite convinced of his divine mission; still, while regarding him cautiously, they could not, as Músulmâns, seem even to object to the crusades he proposed. In the Yusaf Zai country he was received with perfect cordiality; implicit confidence was given to his assertions, and the enthusiastic population took up arms, eager to signalize them-

selves in the cause of religion, and to have shares in the countries which, as the saiyad told them, God had bestowed upon them. His unexpected success in rousing the Yusaf Zais induced the Pesháwer chiefs to open a communication with him, agreeably to their plan of being on the right side under any circumstances; and so innumerable were the hosts with the saiyad that his triumph, if uncertain, did not appear improbable. The saiyad himself was intoxicated with the results of his impudence and effrontery, and, assured of victory, affected to treat his allies as subordinates. Their pique immediately produced a renewal of their understanding with the Síkhs, and in the battle which followed, by flying on its commencement they threw confusion and disaster amongst the saiyad's irregular host. The daring and subtile impostor retired to his Yusaf Zai asylum, denouncing vengeance on Yár Máhomed Khân. Dost Máhomed Khân was in correspondence with the saiyad, and it opportunely happened that his proceedings, by keeping the attention of the Pesháwer chiefs engaged, were favourable to the Kâbal chief's designs. Hâjí Khân was constantly lamenting that the discords between the brothers of the family should prevent his marching with their united force to assist the holy saiyad Ahmed Shâh.

I have already related the result of the combination between the brother chiefs of Kândahár and Pesháwer to humble Dost Máhomed Khân,

and the active part taken by Saiyad Ahmed Shâh in preventing the march westward of the Pesháwer chiefs.

The several brothers having treated with Dost Máhomed Khân as chief of Kâbal, henceforth relinquished their attacks upon him on account of his unjust claims, and assailed him on a new point, urging, that it was his duty to contribute a portion of his revenues towards the expenses they incurred in defending themselves respectively, against Kámrân on the one side, and the Síkhs on the other, while, medially situated, he was at ease and in leisure, multiplying his resources; it might have confessed fear, if they had added what yet they felt — for their degradation. To their demands for money or troops, the chief always replied, that the first he could not give, and the latter he would send only when their territories were actually invaded.

No sooner had the Kândahár army retreated from Ghazní than Dost Máhomed Khân, at the instigation of Hâjí Khân, marched upon Zúrmât, the country of the Súlímân Khél Ghiljís. The chief hesitatingly consented to this expedition, being fearful, he said, to arouse the Ghiljís. It terminated successfully; a multitude of castles were destroyed, tribute was levied, and its payment annually settled for the future. In this campaign the cholera spread amongst the troops, and produced some casualties. Dost Máhomed Khan was affected by it, and, dubious as to the result, conjured Hâjí

Khân, in case of accident, to conduct his wives to Kâbal.

The chief returned to his capital amid rejoicings and illuminations, and he could never before have entered it with such pleasurable feelings. It would have been happy for him if he had been blessed with moderation, that he might have continued to enjoy power so satisfactorily; but the spirit of ambition led him away, and his equivocal measures soon diminished his popularity. He, as well as his brothers, had violated the family compact, and the frequent changes and removals from authority which had taken place proved it to be a fallacy. The suspicious light in which Dost Máhomed Khân was regarded by his brothers and relatives was not lessened by his increase of power and means of injuring them, and henceforth we shall see how justly he was dreaded, and how deliberately, but determinedly he progressed in reducing them, and following up his plans of aggrandizement.

The complete establishment of Dost Máhomed Khân in authority, in the year 1827, produced no instantaneous alteration in the distribution of the country. The loss of Kohât and Hângu made it necessary to provide for the sons of Samad Khân, and Dost Máhomed Khân not interesting himself on their account, they fell to the care of Máhomed Zemân Khân, who conferred on Máhomed Osmân Khân the town of Bálla Bâgh, and on Sadú Khân villages in the plain of Jelálabád.

In the year 1829 Saiyad Ahmed Shâh made a serious attack on the Pesháwer territory; in his progress he captured the killa, or fortress of Húnd, and Yár Máhomed Khân, advancing to recover it, was surprised in a night attack, and slain. The victorious saiyad, who was in communication with Faizúlah Khân, Hazár Khâní, a powerful zemíndár of Pesháwer, entered the city, and for some days held it. The chiefs retired to Khaibar. The saiyad conducted himself moderately during his stay, discussing religious points with the múllas, and convincing them that he was not a Wâhabí, as, it would seem, they had accused him of being. To others he unbosomed himself, and regretted that he had not seized Kâbal, to have served as a *point d'appui* to his operations. With the fugitive sirdárs he opened negotiations, and they readily agreed to any terms proposed, having no intention of fulfilling them. It was arranged, that the saiyad should retire, leaving an agent at Pesháwer to receive one lákh of rupees. Faizúlah Khân, and all others, were to be respected, who had sided with the saiyad, and the sirdárs, as good Mússulmâns, were to assist him in his future struggles with the Síkhs. The sirdárs re-entered their city, and a few days after slew the saiyad's agent and Faizúlah Khân. The latter, on quitting the darbár, received his first wound from the hand of Pír Máhomed Khân, the younger of the sirdárs. The preparations of the saiyad to avenge these perfidious acts, compelled

applications to Dost Máhomed Khân and to Lahore for assistance. As the integrity of the Pesháwer territory had been impaired, Dost Máhomed Khân sent the Nawâb Jabár Khân and Habíb Ulah Khân, with their troops, to assist his brothers. The Síkhs also, whose interest did not accord with the occupation of Pesháwer by the saiyad, ordered a force to cross the Atâk. Some skirmishing happened in the Yusaf Zai districts, and the campaign terminated by the retreat of the saiyad and the recovery of Killa Húnd. The Nawâb Jabár Khân returned to Kâbal, and Habíb Ulah Khân remained at Pesháwer. Dost Máhomed Khân was glad of an opportunity to resume the revenues of his nephew. This impetuous youth had attached to him eight hundred very dissolute, but resolute cavalry. The excesses committed by him and them at Pesháwer were so extraordinary that on many occasions the shops of the city were shut up, as in a time of siege. The sirdárs, perplexed how to deal with him, at length, by stratagem, prevailed upon him to leave the city, when, finding that it was not the intention to re-admit him, he took the road of Lâlpúra, the town of the Momand chief Sâdat Khân. Here he remained two or three months a compulsory and unwelcome guest, and having gutted the town, proceeded up the valley of Jelálabád. Máhomed Zemân Khân fled at his approach, and repaired to Kâbal, imploring assistance from Dost Máhomed Khân. This chief smiled, and

thought he might dispense with territory, if unable to protect it. Habíb Ulah did not occupy the residence of Máhomed Zemân Khân at Jelálabád, but passing the town, fixed himself about a mile beyond it, at the castle of Jehàn Nemáhí, belonging to Mírza Aga Jân, one of the ministers. Here he and his men lived at free quarters upon the country. They were allowed some time to pursue their profligate career unmolested, that the people might be well surfeited, and that the measure in contemplation by Dost Máhomed Khân might stand excused. When the time came, he sent Máhomed Zemân Khân back with troops, and having tampered with Habíb Ulah's followers, they came over in a body, and were received into service. The Nawâb Jabár Khân was entrusted with the charge of an expedition to the Sáfi valley of Taghow. On entering the valley he was surprised in an evening attack by Mázúlah, the principal of the petty Maleks, and so complete was the panic produced that the troops fled, abandoning their equipage and the two guns they had brought with them. The Nawâb was the last man to mount, but neither his entreaties nor example could arrest the fugitives.

Dost Máhomed Khân conceived that it behoved him to reduce Mázúlah and to recover his guns. He accordingly, in 1831, marched in person towards Taghow. It is asserted that the Nawâb Jabár Khân was willing that the failure of his brother's enterprise should extenuate the reproach attaching

to his own; and that his letters, encouraging Mázúlah to resistance, were intercepted. The nawâb's friends affirm, that his seal was forged. Dost Máhomed Khân entered Taghow, and reduced the principal castles, while the jísâlchís of his brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, scoured the valley. Mázúlah was ultimately induced, on the guarantee of Hâjí Khân and the good Músssulmáns in camp, to pay his respects to Dost Máhomed Khân, and he engaged, while paying a certain sum down, to remit annual tribute. The abandoned guns were restored. Mázúlah Khân was one of the men feared by Dost Máhomed Khân. He was not a great man, but one that dared to act: and at certain times example is contagious. Mázúlah Khân afterwards visited Kâbal, but under such guarantees that his person was respected. Had he again come he would have repented his confidence. Dost Máhomed Khân, in his anxiety to be ridden of him, offered a reward of three thousand rupees to the person who would slay him. The reward was falsely claimed; and Dost Máhomed Khân was so overjoyed that he paid the money without satisfying himself that the applicant was entitled to it. Some time after Mázúlah was slain by a man, who came laughing up to him, and presented his musket: the wretch was cut down on the spot. It was never ascertained by whom, if by any one, he had been instigated to commit the murder of his chief.

After the submission of Mázúlah and Taghow

Dost Máhomed Khân marched to Lúghmân, and it became revealed that he had designs upon Jelálabád. Máhomed Zemân Khân, previously informed thereof, had applied to the chiefs of Pesháwer for assistance, and they, regarding the capture of Jelálabád as the first step to the prosecution of the Kâbal chief's machinations against themselves, determined to give it, and marched with all haste to Bishbúlâk in the valley of Jelálabád, but under the shelter of the Khaibar hills. As the affair was a family one, the Nawâb Jabár Khân, Máhomed Osmân Khân, and others, became implicated in the league to support Máhomed Zemân Khân. At the approach of the Kabal force Máhomed Zemân Khân retired across the river, followed by Dost Máhomed Khân. A day of skirmishing passed, and on the morrow, when Dost Máhomed Khân had resolved to bring on a decisive action, the Nawâb Jabár Khân and his party flatly refused to mount, or take part in it. Paralyzed, and ignorant how far the combination in his camp extended, while threatened by a junction of the Jelálabád and Pesháwer troops, Dost Máhomed Khân felt himself powerless. The Nawâb Jabár Khân now assumed the part of a mediator and composer of differences, an office of which he is so fond that it is jocularly remarked, he promotes difficulties for the pleasure of adjusting them. He had, however, to experience that mediators may not always be acceptable to all parties, and that while setting to rights the affairs of others they

may endanger their own. Willing to preserve Máhomed Zemân Khân, he did not wish to destroy Dost Máhomed Khân, and therefore by not entering fully into the views of the Pesháwer chiefs, who thought the opportunity a good one of reducing him to insignificance, he offended them as well as Máhomed Zemân Khân. Dost Máhomed Khân was, of course, irritated that he was deterred from seizing a prey within his grasp. By the Nawâb Jabár Khân's skilful arrangement the invasion was considered a friendly visit, and the firing that had taken place a few *feu de joies* upon the occasion. Máhomed Zemân Khân was to present his guest, Dost Máhomed Khân, with forty thousand rupees as míhmâní, or entertainment fee. The Kâbal and Pesháwer troops were respectively to retire. Máhomed Zemân Khân regretted his money; the Peshawer chiefs were enraged that they had been put to inconvenience and expense to no purpose, while Dost Máhomed Khân was indignant at having been baffled. The Kâbal chief, however, intent upon drawing as much advantage as he could from the affair, pretended contrition that he had marched upon Jelálabád, and pleaded in excuse his having listened to bad counsels. He in some measure restored confidence to Máhomed Zemân Khân, and at length, with his own hand, wrote a series of dreadful imprecations on himself, if ever he wrested Jelálabád from him, on a leaf of the chief's Korân. He, and his brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, both

put their seals to this delectable document. Having for the moment lulled the suspicions of Máhomed Zemân Khân, he returned to Kâbal, and informed the Nawâb Jabár Khân, that having heard so many complaints as to his mal-administration of the Ghiljí districts, he was necessitated to transfer them to Amír Máhomed Khân to bring them into order. In this manner the Nawâb lost his government.

The conditions of the treaty of Ghazní, as to remittance of the Loghar revenue, had never been fulfilled, and the subsequent death of Púr Dil Khân rendered the Kâbal chief very easy as to any future embarrassment from Kândahár. The deceased sirdár, while unpopular from a certain repulsive manner, was clever, and equal to business, which none of his remaining brothers were. The confusion into which their affairs soon fell made them disliked by all classes; and Dost Máhomed Khân was not displeased at the accounts which from time to time reached Kâbal of their tyranny and mismanagement.

I have now narrated some of the leading events in the career of Dost Máhomed Khân up to the year 1832, when, for the second time, I reached Kâbal. His course, it will not fail to be noted, had been a singular one. Possessing a variety of talents, without principle, he had foiled his competitors, and elevated himself to power, the great object of his ambition. To attempt to delineate

the character of a man who has none, would be ridiculous. He was good or bad as it suited his conceived interests. Still, the qualities which he derived from nature, or acquired in intercourse with the world, did not constitute him a great man,—the former were not such as rendered him capable of an act of generosity, the latter were not such as permitted him to repose confidence in any human being. Dost Máhomed Khân might have an accomplice, he could never have a friend; and his power, erected on the basis of fraud and overreaching, was always liable to be destroyed by the same weapons. Many of his vices and errors were, undoubtedly, those of his countrymen, and of circumstances. His fortune had placed him in an age in which honesty could scarcely thrive. Had he been born to legitimate power he would have figured very respectably; his talents would have had a fair field for their developement and exercise, and he would have been spared the commission of many enormities, then unnecessary. It has been remarked, that he never acted wantonly, or perpetrated mischief for the mere sake of mischief, and that he was open to shame, but it was doubtful whether for having done evil or because he had gained nothing by it. It is fair to notice the conduct of Dost Máhomed Khân in his new capacity of supreme chief of Kâbal, especially as it did him much credit in many respects. From his youth upwards he had been dissipated, and prone to all the vices of

the country. Master of Kâbal, he abjured wine and other unlawful pleasures. The chief of the community, it was due that his example should not be questioned. Of his application and aptitude for business there could be but one opinion. He had been uneducated; he now felt the evil; and by an effort, which required considerable resolution at his age, overcame the neglect of his youth. He learned to read and to write. In all matters where no political questions had force he was fair and impartial, and free from haughtiness; and accessible to all classes. Vigilant in the administration of the country, crimes became few. People ceased to commit them, conscious they should be called to account. There can be no doubt but that at this time Kâbal was flourishing: stranger as I was, and observing the visible content and comfort that prevailed, I could not but have attributed it to the equal rule of Dost Máhomed Khân; but I had afterwards to learn that so much good might be owing to other causes than his justice or care for the welfare of his subjects.

In the month of June accounts reached Kâbal of the intention of the ex-king, Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, to sally forth from his asylum at Lúdiána, and to attempt to re-establish himself in sovereignty at Kâbal. The expression of sentiment this news brought forth proved, at least, that the people, if they had no fair cause of complaint against their actual chief, were not averse to a change in

rule. It necessarily produced much solicitude in the mind of Dost Máhomed Khân, particularly as, although he did not avow it, he must have suspected the ex-king to be about to move under the sanction, if not with the support, of the British Government of India. It is subject for discussion, whether it was politic or honourable to permit an expelled king to organise armaments in British territory. Dost Máhomed Khân, on first hearing the report, exclaimed, "I have not money to march an army; the inclinations of the Ghúlám Khâna are well known. I have but a few Afghâns I can depend upon." Mirza Samí Khân, Hâjí Khân, the Khân Múlla Saifadín Khân, and others, urged upon Dost Máhomed Khân the necessity of assuming royalty, as well to enter the field on equal terms, with respect to rank, with his antagonist, as to obviate a conviction, prevalent amongst Afghâns, that those who fall under the banners of a pádshâh, or legitimate monarch, may hope for the rewards of martyrdom, and which may not be so certainly expected by those who perish under other auspices. The sirdár's relatives universally and vehemently opposed the project; and influenced somewhat by their pertinacity, and perhaps as much by the knowledge that the people in general treated the affair with ridicule, it was abandoned, Dost Máhomed Khân observing, that it was inconsistent in one who had no money to become a king.

In the month of August, Atmâr, the Hindú

Díwân of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, the Uzbek chief of Kúndúz, reached Kâbal on a mission. He brought as presents twenty-seven horses and twelve sheep, besides cloths, &c. His avowed objects were with reference to the movements of the Persians in Khorasân, and the announced expedition of the ex-king, Shâh Sujâh al Múlkh; to conclude a treaty, offensive and defensive, between Dost Máhomed Khân and his master, to be cemented by family alliances. The Kúndúz chief would engage to furnish, when called upon, seven thousand cavalry. There were many who suspected that the Díwân was merely sent to ascertain thoroughly the state of affairs at Kâbal. That he intrigued with many persons, particularly with Hâjí Khân, under orders for Bísút and Bámíân, is certain. No one was more indignant than the khân at the bare mention of an Uzbek alliance; and Dost Máhomed Khân, purposing, if opportunity permitted, at some future time to visit Kúndúz, excused himself from benefiting by the condescension of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, of which he was unworthy.

A few days after the Díwân's arrival Dost Máhomed Khân received a visitor of more distinction in Mír Alam Khân, the chief of Bájor. When foiled in his attempt to secure Jelálabád in the winter, the Kâbal chief threatened to proceed to Bájor; his purpose was diverted by the receipt of a sum of money, some ten or twelve

thousand rupees, and the promise of Mír Alam Khân to come to Kâbal. He now fulfilled it, but under every precaution for his security. Máhomed Zemân Khân from Jelálabád preceded him a few days, and he received the joint guarantees of Mírza Samí Khân, the Nawâbs Jabár Khân and Máhomed Zemân Khân, Hâjí Khân, and Khân Sherín Khân. He was numerously attended, and his train, a select one, was well mounted and appareled. Dost Máhomed Khân received him with great respect, and lodged him in his own palace. The Bájor chief, it appeared, had sent a daughter, very young, to the Vazir Fatí Khân, who intended her for one of his sons. The maiden had grown up, and was now residing with the wives of Dost Máhomed Khân. It was proposed to give her to one of the chief's sons; to which Mír Alam Khân, looking upon the daughter as lost to him, consented. The Bájor chief remained some days a guest, and although treated with civility, joyfully took his departure, inwardly determined never again to trust himself in the power of Dost Máhomed Khân. Bájor was a country much coveted by the sirdár, and was the immediate advantage he calculated upon from the possession of Jelálabád. Besides giving him the command of the plains of Pesháwer, and putting him in communication with the fanatical tribes of the mountainous regions between it and Káshmír, from its remote situation and great natural strength, it

would admirably serve as a stronghold and place of refuge in case of a reverse of fortune. The distractions of the Dúrání chiefs had permitted the chiefs of Bájor to lapse into a species of independence. Mír Alam Khân, on discovering that Dost Máhomed Khân had designs against his territory, had connected himself with the brother chiefs of Pesháwer, who cordially united themselves with him, justly considering the preservation of his country essential to the security of their own.

Numerous were the reports which, during the autumn, were circulated in the city relative to Khorasân and Shâh Sujâh al Múlkh's proceedings. It was also a current bazar report that the sirdár intended to seize Hâjí Khán. In process of time, however, that chief started on his expedition to Bisút and Bámíân, as I have related in the preceding volume.

CHAPTER V.

Researches. — Mound. — Discoveries. — Túz-leaf manuscripts. — Images. — Conjectures. — Antiquity of manuscripts. — Alarm of friends. — Intercourse with Máhomed Akbar Khân. — His sensible observations.—Anecdote of Mr. Moorcroft.—Dr. Gerard's sculpture.—Excursions.—Return of Hâjí Khân.—His reception. —Hâjí Khân's visit to Kúndúz.—Hospitality of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg.—Revolt in Bádakshân.—Hâjí Khân's Alíma.— Treaty with Máhomed Morád Beg.—Ráhmatúlah Beg's replies. —Disposal of Déh Zanghí captives.—Ráhmatúlah Beg's parting remark.—Release of Mír Yezdânbaksh's relatives.—Hâjí Khân's hints to them.—Hâjí Khân's projects.—Samander Khân.— Dost Máhomed Khân's discretion.—Hâjí Khân's final determination. — Dost Máhomed Khân's reproaches. — Hâjí Khân's retort.—Entertainment of elchís and chiefs.—Theft. —Dost Máhomed Khân's sarcastic counsel. — Hâjí Khân discharges his followers. —His imputed design. — Hússén Khân. — Hâjí Khân's remark.—Movements of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg.— Fate of Máhomed Ali Beg.—Abdúlah Khân.

Having now resided a year without interruption, and in perfect security, in the country, I was emboldened to essay whether objections would be made to the examination of some of the numerous artificial mounds on the skirts or the hills. I was unable to direct my attention to the massive topes, where considerable expense was required; still, the inferior indications of the olden time might

repay the labour bestowed upon them, and by testing the feeling which my excavations created I might smooth the way for the time when I should be in condition to undertake the superior monuments. Without asking permission of any one, I commenced an operation upon a mound at the skirt of the hill Koh Takht Shâh, separated by a spur from the Ziárat Panjah Shâh Mirdân. It was at the entrance of a little khol, or glen, called Khol Shams, where was a spring and a few trees. The spot I had often visited with picnic parties. Below, or east of it, was a castle and garden, belonging to Akhúnd Iddaitúlah, already introduced in the narrative of my Bámíân excursion. I had become acquainted with his sons, who interested themselves to forward my researches. The mound was composed of two stages, the lower and superior one being garnished with caves. In the centre of the upper one was a circular hollow, supposed by my friends to have been a hous, or reservoir of water. These caves had been visited by the inmates of the castle, and from one of them a copper lamp had been brought, now in the possession of the Akhúnd. I obtained from them specimens of the unbaked bricks which had been employed in the construction of the mound. They were sixteen inches square, with a depth of six inches. On one side was the impression of a hand, on the other that of a figure, or character, 4. Tradition ascribes the locality to Zákom Shâh, an opponent of Házrat

Alí, and therefore does not throw much light upon it. In the course of four or five days we discovered, nearly at one of the angles of the mound, a tâk, or arched recess, ornamentally carved, and supported by two slender pillars. In it we found the remains of several earthen images; the heads of the two larger ones only were sufficiently entire to bear removal. They were evidently of female figures, and of very regular and handsome features. Affected by moisture, which had naturally in the course of centuries completely pervaded the mound, and everything of mere earth contained within it, we could yet from slight traces ascertain that the figures had been originally covered with layers of white and red paint, and that over the latter had been placed a surface of gold leaf. The hair of the heads, tastefully arranged in curls, had been painted with an azure colour. The recess also had been embellished with gold leaf and lapis lazuli tints. Accompanying the figures were a variety of toys, precisely such as the Híndús make at the present day, and in no better taste, representing horses, sheep, cows &c., of cement. The more important discovery remained. At the base of the recess were hewn stones; and on their removal we found jammed in between them Nágarí writings, on túz leaf. Their position, which had clearly been adopted with a view to their preservation, had not secured them from the consequences of natural decay and the all-penetrating damp.

The characters on many of the fragmental masses were very distinct and legible. It now occurred to me, that an examination of the corresponding angle of the mound might lead to similar results; our labours did not substantiate the notion. We next opened the pile between the two angles, and it soon became evident that the space had been filled by a suite of small apartments. Some of these we cleared out. In one of them, which had been crowned with a dome, we found several images, of different proportions, but one of them eight or ten feet in length. They were all of pure earth, and had been covered with gold leaf, and were lying horizontally. My Máhomedan companions amused themselves in scraping it off, but the images were so saturated that it was impossible even to develope one of them perfectly. In another apartment, which had been alike decorated with mouldings, and painted with white, red, and azure colours, we found three earthern lamps, an iron nail, and one or two fragments of iron. Pieces of charcoal were abundant, and occasionally a few bones were brought to light, with pieces of red and black pottery; the latter of good fabric.

I have been particular in detailing the results here, as they are those likely to be obtained in the examination of the numerous artificial mounds, which everywhere in these countries arrest attention, and which have no doubt a common character. I could not forbear the conjecture that the spot had

been purposely filled up with earth, which indeed was evident, or that it might have been so filled up at some crisis when the torrent of invasion was rolling upon Kâbal, and it was judged necessary to conceal the temples and funereal localities to preserve them from desecration. The fragments of writing elicited have a degree of value, since the researches of Mr. Prinsep have arranged, in a tabular form, the Nágarí characters in use at various epochs. For our own we cannot claim a very high antiquity. If our preceding surmises have foundation, the locality may have been abandoned and concealed at the inroad of Sabakteghín Khân, the founder of the Ghaznaví dynasty.

My researches became the subject of conversation in the city, and the son of Akhúnd Iddaitúlah having sold the gold leaf he scraped from the images to a goldsmith, for something less, I believe, than a rupee, my friends prayed me to desist from such labours in future, urging that the country was bad, as were the people, and that I should probably get into trouble. I smiled as I essayed to console my friends, and to point out that little notice would be taken of me so long as broken idols were the fruits of my proceedings.

Máhomed Akbár Khân, son of Dost Máhomed Khân, hearing of my discoveries, sent for me, and wished to see them. He was enraptured with the two female heads, and lamented that the ideal beauties of the sculptor could not be realized in nature.

From this time a kind of acquaintance subsisted between us, and the young sirdár would frequently send for me. I became a pretty constant visitor at his tea-table, and procured from him an order, addressed to the several maleks and chiefs of the Kohistân and Ghorband, to assist me in any researches I might undertake in those districts, of which the sirdár was then hâkam, or governor. I was as much gratified as surprised to witness the good sense displayed by the young sirdár as to the nature of my researches, and their object. He remarked to those about him, who suggested that I might be seeking treasure, that my only purpose was to advance science, which would lead to my credit on my return to my native country; and he observed, that while amongst Dúránís the soldier was held in honour, amongst Europeans respect was paid to men of "illam," or science. At one of these majlisses, or conversations, when the subject of topes was discussed, a person related that he had attended Moorcroft Sâhib on his visit to Darúnta, and that while inspecting the monuments there a coin was brought, to which the sáhib applying his glass, observed, "Now I understand the meaning of the topes."

My intercourse with the sirdár allayed the apprehensions of my friends, and encouraged me to continue fearlessly my researches. I was always of opinion that no umbrage would be taken, and felt assured, that if I acted openly and fairly I should be fairly dealt with. Nothing farther, of consequence,

was extracted from the mound; but I may here observe, although anticipating the period, that at the close of autumn of this year, when Dr. Gerard arrived in Kâbal, I pointed out the spot to him as one likely to yield some token which he was desirous to possess and to carry with him to India. From it he obtained the marble sculptured slab forwarded to the Asiatic Society in Bengal, an account of which, by his múnshí and companion, Mohan Lâl, appeared in the Journal of the Society for September 1834.

During the preceding year I had made pedestrian excursions within a circuit of six miles around the city; I now felt that I could securely extend them, and my steps were first directed towards the Koh Dámân and Kohistân. With one attendant, I made trips on foot in succession to Shakr Dara, to Ferzah, to Istálif, and at length had pushed onwards as far as Chárikár. My intention in these trips was not so much to examine deeply into the state and antiquities of the districts as to feel my way, and to become acquainted. To a stranger, like myself, and travelling without tent or retinue, there is difficulty in procuring a house to pass the night in, unless, indeed, the masjít be taken as quarters. To pass the night without is neither safe nor seemly. I had succeeded in forming acquaintances at all the stage villages between Kâbal and Chárikár, not only on one road, but on all the several roads leading between them, and was certain whenever I

dropped in at any of them to be received with civility.

June opened with cloudy and windy weather. On the 8th and 9th slight earthquakes were experienced. They were both accompanied by a rolling rumbling noise. On the 12th my old friend Hájí Khân arrived at Kâbal. He scattered money amongst the populace, and proceeded straight to the sirdár's palace. His solemn intonation of Salám alíkam was duly responded to by Dost Máhomed Khân, who took his hand and led him into his háram, where he introduced the long absent khân to his favourite wife, the mother of Máhomed Akbár Khân, telling her that her bábá (father) had returned. On the next morning the bábá was informed that his jaëdád of Bámíân was transferred to the sirdár's son, Máhomed Haidar Khân, and that he should receive annually the equivalent of its revenue in money.

It may not be improper to narrate briefly, in this place, the proceedings of the khân after I left him at Bâmíân. I have shown that he was in communication with Mír Máhomed Morád Beg of Kúndúz. His means of subsistence appear to have failed him, and he decided upon becoming the guest of the mír. To appease the clamours of his soldiery for pay, and to relieve them from any solicitude as to their families at Kâbal, he directed letters to be prepared, which he read to them, purporting to be from their connexions in the city, and stating, that

by the khân's orders his agent there had paid them, severally, certain sums of money. To amuse them farther, he announced his intention to build a city, also to break up the two idols, one of which, he affirmed, was full of diamonds, the other of rubies, citing, as a matter of course, the well-known story of Súltan Máhmúd. Finally, unable to remain longer at Bámíân, where he apparently lingered as long as possible, mistrustful perchance of the untried soil of Túrkistân, he distributed eleven pais to each soldier, and started for Kúndúz. He took the road of Séghân and Káhmerd. The hospitality of the Kúndúz chief was unbounded. At every stage provisions of all descriptions were supplied in profusion, nor were luxuries omitted. Tea and sugar were served out to the Afghân soldiery, and the mír's officers wearied themselves in running from tent to tent to see that no want remained unsatisfied. On nearing Kúndúz it was found that a road had been made across the marshes and rice-lands which environ the town, expressly for the passage of the khân and his troops. Mír Máhomed Morád Beg was suddenly called away to suppress a revolt at Faizabád of Bádakshân. Hájí Khân insisted, as a point of honour, upon accompanying him. The Afghâns could not keep pace with the rapid movements of the Uzbeks. They followed, and reached Faizabád after its capture. The mír, on arrival, carried the place by assault, consigned the inhabitants to slavery, and their chief, Mír Yár Beg Khân, to a dungeon.

The khân, conscious of the Músulmâní tendency of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, had prepared to appear before him to advantage. He had converted many of his domestics into múftís, kázís, âkhúnds, múllas, &c., and had surrounded himself with a powerful álima. In all conversations with the Uzbek chief this gang of impostors was present, and the khân, constantly referring to the múftí sáhib or to the kází sáhib, feigned neither to speak or to act but in consonance with the prescriptions of the Korân. The intercourse between two such zealous Mússulmâns must have been delightful. The khân sojourned at Kúndúz as long as his stay was agreeable; and I have heard that Mír Máhomed Morád Beg repented of having, as he expressed it, shown the Afghâns his country. The visit had, however, proved profitable to the khân in more senses than one, and he had received at sundry times from Diwân Atmar, and it may be supposed with the mír's cognizance, thirty-five thousand rupees. During his stay he had negotiated a treaty with the chief, by which Kâhmerd, Séghân, and Ajer, were annexed to the government of Bámíân, and he left Kúndúz, no doubt having impressed Mír Máhomed Morád Beg with the conviction that he had secured a powerful and steady friend at Kâbal. On reaching Káhmerd, on his return, he wished Ráhmatúlah Beg to put away one of his wives, to renounce wine, and to become a Mússulmân. Ráhmatúlah asked, how he could discard a woman

who had lived with him thirty years, and who had borne him many children. As to wine, he said, that Killich Alí Beg had licensed him to drink it. The khân could not lay hands upon the property of the Káhmerd chief with any propriety on this occasion, and was reluctantly obliged to forego it. He, however, had procured from him a large quantity of grain, on the pretence of payment, which he was inclined to have forgotten. It was urged, that such conduct would be disreputable, and suggested that a good opportunity presented itself of disposing of the captive Déh Zanghí chiefs, who would be gladly received by Ráhmatúlah in place of money. They were accordingly made over to him, and he told the poor wretches that they should be liberated in exchange for a certain number of female slaves. Ráhmatúlah Beg accompanied the khan to the crest of the kotal leading from his valley into that of Séghân, and after taking leave of him, turned to his mírza and said, "He has taken my son with him, but if the next year he crosses this kotal you may shave my beard, and tell me that I am no man." At Bámiân the khân was joined by elchís from Bokhára, Khúlm, Kúndúz, Shibrghân, &c. In his camp were the chief of Ajer, and the sons of the chiefs of Káhmerd and Séghân. He had assembled a goodly party of diplomatists and vassal chieftains, and had done no little business, but unfortunately without instructions or authority. It is most probable that the khân would have been

better pleased to have remained at Bámíân than to have returned to Kâbal, but he had no alternative, and had received no satisfactory accounts of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh's progress. He therefore released the relatives of Mír Yezdânbaksh, until now detained in bonds, and significantly told them that the death of the mír and their treatment was owing to the orders he received from Kâbal, and that now they would show if they were men or not. Mír Abbás, the principal, took the hint, and began to plunder kâfilas. At Sir Chishma the khân still had scruples as to whether he should go on to Kâbal, and sent to the city for a sum of money and some hundred sets of horse-shoes. The circumstance was reported to Dost Máhomed Khân, who, without comment, ordered both money and horse-shoes to be expedited. The chance is, that he would have been very glad if the khân had made off. This singular man is accused at this time of having meditated the plunder of a kâfila which had accompanied his party from Bámíân, and then to have gained Toba, whence he might, as convenient, proceed to meet Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh, or form new arrangements. It was known that the shâh had been joined by Samandar Khân, Popal Zai, therefore the place of dignity with the prince had been occupied, and Hâjí Khân would not have been content to have played a subordinate part. The junction of Samandar Khân was, in another point of view, obnoxious, as some years since when con-

nected with the sirdárs of Kândahár, and holding the government of Sívi, the khân had waylaid, between Peshing and Shâll, a near relative of the Popal Zai Sirdár, and had either slain him or had delivered him to the Kândahár chiefs to be slain. These accidents may have deprived the shâh at this period of the services of Hâjí Khân, Khâka. During his absence the wary Dost Máhomed Khân had uttered no expression which, reported, could have been interpreted as conveying the notion that he had any suspicions of his governor's designs. At various times he sent purses of two thousand and one thousand rupees to his family, inquired courteously after their necessities, and lamented that the khân had exposed himself to privations. Many people in darbár would state openly that the khân was in rebellion, but this was vehemently protested against by Mírza Samí Khân and the Khân Múlla; the latter asserting that he was too good a Mússulmân ever to be "yâghí," or rebellious. On the khân's reaching Arghandí he cut short his doubts and mental deliberations by exclaiming that he was áshak, or enamoured of the very eyes of Dost Máhomed Khân. Leaving his troops and companions to follow at their discretion, he galloped off towards the city, attended by a select few. His arrival and reception have been noted.

The resumption of the khân's jaëdád, a clever stroke of Dost Máhomed Khân, reduced the Khâka chief to comparative insignificance, and paralyzed

him for the moment. It would also compel him to disband his numerous followers, whom he could no longer subsist, and an object of consequence to the sirdár was gained without the ungracious alternative of a peremptory order. The khân, by sitting on the gillam to receive the fátíhas of his friends on account of the decease of his brother, Gúl Máhomed Khân, was relieved for some days from the mortification of presenting himself at darbár, and had an opportunity to consult secretly with his supporters on his future line of conduct. When he eventually renewed attendance upon the sirdár, he assumed a high tone. The sirdár upbraided him with the murder of Yezdânbaksh. Hâjí Khân asked, if it had not been committed under his orders. "No," said Dost Máhomed Khân, "I never told you to take seven false oaths, and afterwards to kill the man. I continually wrote to you to give him an abundance of khelats, to secure him, and bring him to Kâbal, when, after some time, I would have behaved handsomely to him, and have released him." The khân retorted, that it was singular the sirdár should reproach any one on the score of taking false oaths, and inquired how he had inveigled and slain the chiefs of the Kohistân. The sirdár answered, by illam bází, or dexterity, for he had sent logs of wood and not Korâns.

The entertainment of the several elchís and chiefs brought by the khán was a subject of consideration.

The sirdár did not look upon them as commissioned to himself, and declared that he had no intention to put himself to any expense. The elchí from Bokhára was handed over to Badradín, one of the most eminent merchants of the city, whose commercial transactions with Bokhára would induce him, unwillingly, or otherwise, to attend to the stray envoy's kidmat. The elchí from Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, and the chiefs of Séghân and Ajer, with the son of Ráhmatúlah Beg, being peculiarly the guests of Hâjí Khân, were left by the sirdár to his care. While Dost Máhomed Khân did not acknowledge these people, he did not refuse to accept the presents they brought. Amongst those from Mír Máhomed Morád Beg were four noble yâks of Bádakshân.

In course of time the Kúndúz elchí discovered, to his consternation, that his purse had been carried off. On scrutiny, the theft was traced to the servant of Hâjí Khân, who brought the morning and evening meals for the elchí's party. The khân bound his servant, and sent him to Dost Máhomed Khân, who declined to notice the affair, observing, that the guests are Hâjí Khân's: so is the robber, let him act as he pleases. The khân himself repaired to the sirdár, urging, that it behoved him to punish the man. The sirdár did not think so, and said, "Deliver him to the Uzbeks; they may sell him, and make something by him."

Hâjí Khân for some time did not discharge his

followers, perhaps hoping that he might have recovered Bámíân; at length he was compelled to do so, and his overgrown establishment was broken up. This circumstance was hastened by the sirdár ordering some of the Khâka retainers to quit the Chehel Sítún, a large apartment erected over one of the towers of the Bálla Hissár, on the line of wall extending from the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid, where Hâjí Khân had his house, to the palace. It was pointed out to Dost Máhomed Khân that his discontented khân could at any time push his men along the ramparts directly into his residence, and that he was not secure. The demolition of Chehel Sítún was directed, and the sirdár put in hand some precautionary erections at the point where the palace was connected with the ramparts. One Nekho Máhomed had even reported that he had become informed that some dark enterprize had been concerted. The Chehel Sítún had been built, in the reign of Shâh Zeman, by Jân Nissar Khân, his governor of Kâbal, that the prince might enjoy the view from it.

The khân sat very uneasy under his degradation, but soon had an opportunity of entering into fresh intrigues, from which he cherished the hopes of gratifying his revenge on the sirdár, and of advancing his own ambitious views. Under the sirdár's son, Máhomed Haidar Khân, one Hússén Khân, Shâh Síwân, had been appointed náib, or deputy governor of the Hazárajât and Bámíân.

Hâjí Khân on the occasion told the sirdár that he had placed an elephant's load upon a jackass.

With this anecdote we shall leave the khân for the present, observing, that on the return of the several elchís and petty chiefs to Túrkistân, Mír Máhomed Morad Beg resumed Káhmerd, Séghân, and Ajer. He farther chapowed Séghân, and consigned its chief, Alí Máhomed, the father-in-law of Hâjí Khân, to a dungeon.

During the winter, or while I was absent with the khân in Bísút, Abdúlah Khân, the Atchak Zai chief, who, as I have mentioned, had been seized by the sirdárs of Kândahár, was permitted by them to proceed to Kâbal. He came in company with Rámazân Khân, Ohtak, alike discontented, and was courteously received by Dost Máhomed Khân. To Abdúlah Khân was assigned a jághír of sixty thousand rupees per annum, and to Rámazân Khân another of twenty thousand rupees per annum. Abdúlah Khân had little to recommend him beyond being one of the few hereditary Dúrání sirdárs who had hitherto, having attached himself to the interests of the Barak Zai family, escaped from persecution by them. He was one of the friends of the Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khân in Kashmír, and had acquired an evil reputation for possessing wealth. Now that he had been confined and put to shame, his reputation adhered to him, and he brought it with him to Kâbal.

CHAPTER VI.

Tour in Koh Dáman, &c.—Nánachí.—Mirza Jáfar Khân.—Kotal Kera Khána.—Tumuli.—Killa Kohchián.—Názir Mir Alí Khân.—His conversation and travels.—Accident.—Shakr Dara.—Serai.—Bízádí.—Bédak.—Káh Dara.—Zirgarán.—Cave.—Tálúk of Ferzah.—Sekandar Shâh.—Persian Inscription.—Cascade.—Auriculas.—Killa Sháhí.—Istálif.—Delightful view.—Ziárat Házrat Eshân.—Azdhá.—Orchards.—Tálúk of Istálif.—Máhomed Shâh Khân.—His capture of Kâbal.—His death.—Bolend Khân.—His execution.—Istargitch.—Approach to Chárikár.—Town of Chárikár.—Trade.—Destruction of Gúrkha battalion.—Húpiân.—Tútam Dara.—Shesh Búrjeh.—Application.—Octogenarian invalid.—Távíz.—Dost Máhomed Khân's severity.—Alí Khân.—His recommendations to his raiyats.—Canals.—River of Tútam Dara.—Conflict and surrender of Dost Máhomed Khân.—Súltân Singh's garden.—History of Súltân Singh.—His rise.—Plot of Mirza Imâm Verdí.—Súltân Singh's adroitness.—Habíb Ulah Khân's measures.—Súltân Singh's state.—Seizes his ancient employer.—Malek Isá Khân's proposal.—Súltân Singh swallows poison.—Jáh Nimâhí.—Tope Dara.—Simplicity.—Nekkak Perída.—Compass.—Fugitive of Húpiân.—Séh Yárân. Ziárat Derwísh.—Killa Khúrbân.—Inhabitants of Chárikár.—Shâhmak.—Sanjit Dara.—Máhomed Jáfar Khân.—Killa Mír Saiyad Khân.—Kábal doctor.—Objects of excursion.—Killa Bolend.—Plain of Bégrám.—Return.—Baloch Khân.—Coins.—Apprehensions of people.—Reports.—Killa Músa Khân.—Tátarang Zár.—Kállakhân.—Tope.—Chéni Khâna.—Killa Rajpút.—Kotal Mámá Khátún.—Killa Iltáfat Khân.—Kotal Páh Minár.—Return to Kâbal.

The return of Hâjí Khân had reproduced my old companion Sirkerder Kamber, and I proposed to him a lengthened excursion into Koh Dáman and Kohistân; to which he cheerfully consented. We accordingly made our arrangements, and in his company I started on the tour.

Passing Deh Afghân, Killâ Bolendí, and the village of Barakí, we gained the seignorial castle of Nánáchí, belonging to Mírza Jáfar Khân, now aged and blind, but once the confidential mírza of the Vazír Fatí Khân. From wealth, acquired in the vazír's service, the mírza has constructed three castles here, and has purchased a large tract of land. Mírza Samí Khân, the present minister of Dost Máhomed Khân, married his daughter; and to this alliance owes in great measure his elevation; indeed the blind mírza advanced his son-in-law the sum of money which secured him office. He is sometimes consulted on affairs of moment, and it need hardly be said, having mentioned under whom he was employed, that as a statesman he is clever, reckless, and unprincipled. Age has made him morose, while he was naturally cruel, and it is, perhaps, quite as well that blindness incapacitates him from taking an active part in public affairs. To our right on leaving Nánáchí, we had the extensive pastures, now partially under water, called the Chaman of Vazírabád, from a village on their southern limit. Tracing their western bounds, we reached the village of Déh Kippak, of one hundred houses

enclosed within walls. Beyond this, crossing a barren stony tract, we came to the Kotal Kers Khâna, or Pass of the Bear's den. At its entrance we found a ruinous stone tower, formerly a chokí, a few tút, or mulberry-trees, and excellent water in a káréz. The kotal is rather a slight defile than a pass, and was about three quarters of a mile in length, the road, although rocky, being perfectly easy to our cattle. At its western extremity was a tower, the station of officers receiving duties. Hence we had a noble view of the district of Shakr Dara, and of the plain of Koh Dáman. We halted a few moments to enjoy the scene. On looking back we found we had still in sight the Bálla Hissár of Kâbal. From the tower, on either side of the road gently inclining towards the plain, were, at regular intervals, the circular foundations of ancient structures, which my companions conjectured to have been towers, but which were rather sepulchral tumuli. They occur in some number. Having gained the level but sterile plain, we had nothing better to do than make the best of our way across it, and to reach the cluster of villages, castles, and orchards which spread before us. The plain, generally pretty even, had its surface fractured in two or three places, and we crossed two or three ravines, in one of which flowed the rivulet called the river of Koh Dáman, which rising amongst the hills above Gázá, in the extreme south-west quarter, traverses the valley and runs along its eastern limits, until it finally falls

into the united rivers of Ghorband, Perwan, and Pangshír, below Júlgha. At length we reached the vicinity of the two Kárézaks, Bálla and Pâhín (the upper and lower), villages at the skirts of the hills. Above them, a little to the north, was Gázá, where resides Náib Amír Khân. The three villages are all advantageously situated, and are abundantly distinguished by vestiges of the olden time, in mounds and tumuli. It was dark before we reached the seignorial castle of Kohchíân, the first one occurring to the south of Shakr Dara, to which we had been invited, and where we were politely welcomed by its proprietor, Názir Mír Alí Khân. A capital supper was prepared, and we were lodged in the Míhmân Khâna, over the entrance to the castle. On one of my former excursions, in making for Kâbal from Shakr Dara, I had met the názir, at that time unknown to me, near the Kotal Kers Khâna. He stopped his horse and asked if I was not a Feringhí; on being answered, yes, he much wished me to have returned with him, and pointed to his castle. I then declined to do so, and he made me promise I would visit him on some future occasion. The názir had been a merchant, and had also served the Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khân in Káshmír; owing to which he was held guilty of being very rich, and had been more than once required to disgorge part of the wealth he had acquired. To avoid farther demands upon his coffers, without absolutely pretending to be a pauper, he represented himself as struggling

with the world, and barely able to make his way. His castle, a very excellent one, was built by Rohilla Khán, Popal Zai, a man who in by-gone days of anarchy seems to have been the tyrant of his neighbourhood. He was slain by one Báram, at the instigation of Hábib Ulah Khân. From his heirs the castle was purchased by a daughter of the Vazír Fatí Khán, who sold it to the názir for six thousand five hundred rupees.

I had not intended to have halted here, but to have spent the day at Shakr Dara, yet, as the názir talked of detaining us several days, we thought it seemly to remain one. On rising I joined my host, who was an earlier riser than I was, in a garden, near a reservoir of water shaded by majnún béds or weeping willows. We commenced the day with a plentiful feast on mulberries and apricots, after which kabâb, or roast meat, with admirable bread, prepared, as is the vogue at Herát, was introduced as a nâstar, or breakfast. We had a good deal of general conversation; from which I learned that the worthy názir had been a great traveller, having visited India, Arabia, Persia, and Túrkistân. He had been at Bágdad, when Mr. Rich was resident there, and, according to his statement, had been a frequent visitor of that gentleman. The north-west tower having a very elevated apartment over it, I asked if it were practicable for me to gain it, without incommoding his family. He obligingly replied, "Bismillah," and ordered the females of his

háram to retire that I might pass. While this was in operation one of the good man's wives arrived from Kâbal, seated on a pony, which being led near the horse of my companion the sirkerder, a very vicious animal, a battle took place, in which the lady was capsized, fortunately without greater detriment than fright. After this untoward accident the wayward beast broke from his ropes, and fled from the castle. The názir's servants mounted, and, after a long chase over the country, secured the fugitive at the foot of the Kotal Kers Khâna.

I ascended the tower, accompanied by a rísh saféd, the malek of the castle, to give me all requisite information, and by another person, to attend to my wants while I remained in it. I did not leave until evening, being well occupied in taking sketches, bearings, and making myself acquainted with the country. Dinner and fruit were sent up to me, and I passed the day very agreeably. The apartment commanded an extensive prospect, and, for whatever purpose erected, had clearly been the scene of many a festive party, if we might infer from the numerous distichs written on its walls.

In the morning we took leave of our friend the názir, who detained us until some dozen eggs were boiled, which he made us put up in our kâskúrzíns, with a couple of Herát cakes. We proceeded towards the gardens of Shakr Dara, which we soon reached, having the small village of Killa

Saféd (the white castle) on our left. Crossing a small rivulet, we passed, also to the left, the village of Killa Ahmed. Our road now led through a wilderness of gardens and orchards, the road defined by parapets of stones, and at nearly every step crossed by canals of water. We arrived at the large village of Serai, inhabited principally by Hindús, adjacent to which is Súrkh Bolendí (the red mound), where resides Shâh Nawáz Khân, the hákam of the district, or tálúk. Here the Hindú Díwân of the Nawâb Jabár Khân followed me, and entreated me to become his guest, and I fear was mortified at my refusal. A little beyond Serai we crossed a small stream, rolling over a rocky bed, called the river of Shakr Dara. It did not exceed in breadth fifteen feet, but its current was noisy and impetuous. We next passed the remains, still attractive, of a royal garden planted by Taimúr Shâh, and our road still threading through orchards, with the villages of Yákúb, Súlímân, &c., to our left, we at length cleared Shakr Dara. On gaining the open country we came upon the zíárat of Khwoja Wahâdar Jâhí, where are two or three large chanár, or plane-trees. Soon after we arrived parallel to the large village of Bízâdí, to our left, on the elevated side of a deep ravine, down which flows a rivulet. This place is picturesquely situated, and is famous for the manufacture of vinegar. We next passed, also to our left, the large village of Bédak, alike romantically situated on an emi-

nence, and surrounded with gardens, vineyards, and orchards. This place is included in the tálúk of Kâh Dara. On the side of the ravine opposite is seated the smaller village of Killa Kázi. On the

BEDAK.

line of road east of Bédak is the castle called Killa Wâsil, where I halted and sketched the village. Hence we proceeded to the large village of Kâh Dara, which has an abundance of gardens and vineyards, and is the capital of a tálúk, enjoyed in jághír by Mírza Samí Khân. The rivulet here is considerable, and termed the river of Kâh Dara. We next made the small village of Kadowla, with a small rivulet, and boasting the same advantages

of site, abundance of water, and gardens. Beyond it we entered the tálúk of Ferzah, passing to our left the Afghân hamlet of Bostân. Thence made our way through orchards, with castles and villages to the right and left, until we reached the village of Zirgarân, seated on an eminence, south of a stream called the river of Ferzah. Here we halted for the day, at the house of a previous acquaintance. The village commanding an extensive view of the Kohistân, as well as Koh Dáman, I took bearings and made observations from it during the remainder of the day. There was also at the summit of the eminence the entrance to a cave, which, although in a measure closed up, we could easily see once led by flights of steps downwards. The people represented, that within memory it was practicable to reach the bottom, where the stairs terminated in a spacious chamber, surmounted with a gúmbúz, or cupola. An account so sober and probable, that I felt conviction it was true.

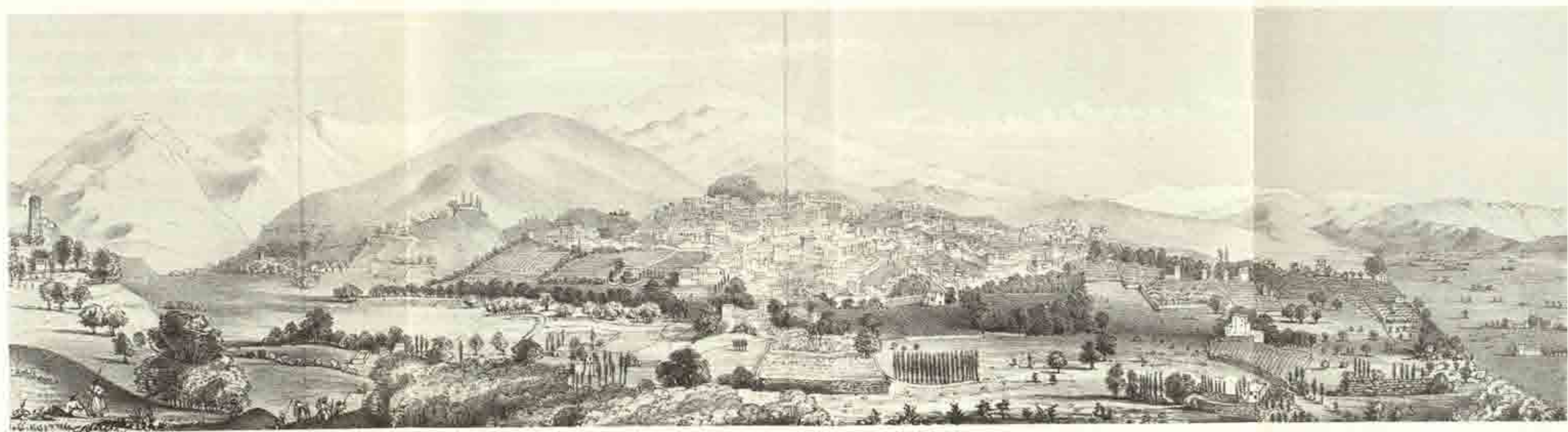
The next day I passed in visiting the several villages and castles of Ferzah and its ziárats, and in making a sketch of Déh Zirgarân. The tálúk, I found, comprised twelve villages and four castles. The two principal villages, inhabited by Tâjiks, contained but eighty houses each, and the remainder varied from thirty to seventy houses. The aggregate of villages and castles embraced about seven hundred houses, consequently a population of nearly four thousand souls may be assigned to the

tálúk of Ferzah. This is mixed Afghân and Tâjik, although the tribes are generally distinct in the villages. The Tâjiks are under a local governor, one Sekandar Shâh, saiyad, formerly a notorious robber. On inquiring what sort of a hákam he made, I was told he was very fond of exacting fines, but that he had a very smooth tongue. Whatever sum he imposed, he assured the individual that owing to a particular affection for him he only claimed half what was due to the offence, and to his own duty, but friendship could not be resisted. Amongst the ziárats of the place I discovered a slab with a partially defaced Persian inscription, commemorating the foundation of a fort, or castle of Nasírabád. It was unknown from what spot the stone had been conveyed, or to what locality it alluded.

We proceeded up the glen of Ferzah for the purpose of visiting an áfsháh, or cascade. Our road led by many of the villages, most romantically and delightfully situated on eminences. When we had passed them we entered a lovely glen, very spacious at its commencement. I was astonished at the wild luxuriance of the vegetation, and at its variety, and observed with satisfaction the violet, and the blackberry-bush. This enchanting space had been till within a very few years filled by a royal garden; little remained in evidence thereof but cultivated flowers, as sweet flags, &c., here and there spontaneously growing. As we paced up the glen it contracted, but was always abundant in grass and

plants. Towards its extremity the road became troublesome, but I did not dismount, and it opened into a clear space, immediately under the body of the superior hills, over which a pass led into the Hazára district of Túrkomân. Here we found the cascade, which was indeed an agreeable object, although inconsiderable as to size. I made a sketch of it, and then went to the limits of the snow in front, where I was surprised to find a profusion of the most beautiful auriculas. I know not whether I was most pleased at having seen the cascade or discovered the flowers. Having eaten our breakfasts, which we had brought with us, we returned to Déh Zirgarân, well satisfied with our trip. The remainder of the day we passed in the garden of Akhúnd Iddaitúláh's castle, where we regaled ourselves upon mulberries at discretion.

Between Ferzah and Istálif the soil was broken by ravines, and a very deep one occurs just before reaching the latter place, where Killa Shâhi, or the royal castle, stands, on an eminence left of the road. It was built by Taimúr Shâh, who also planted a garden here, of which hardly a trace remains; but there are numerous holly-trees sprinkled about, of which the inhabitants boast, as there are none other to be found in the Koh Dáman, however plentiful in the superior hills of Hindú Kosh. The royal castle had lofty walls and towers, but was built of mud, and has been seriously injured by the people themselves, who

are not well disposed to crown property, and wished to make it for ever untenantable, both because it commanded their town and that they might divert into their gardens a canal which was formerly directed through its interior. Hence we had a magnificent *coup d'œil* of the town of Istálif, seated on the opposite side of a profound glen, or valley, down which, over a bed of rocky boulders, rushes a foaming rivulet. The sides of the glen are clad with orchards and vineyards, which alike fill much of the valley above and below the town. The houses occupying the rising ascent of the glen, and standing on sites elevated one above the other, are all distinctly and separately discernible. Above the town soar some magnificent chanárs, which denote the ziárat of Házrat Eshân. Istálif is one of the most picturesque spots which can be conceived; all that a combination of natural beauties can achieve we behold here in perfection: their effect is not diminished, but rather augmented by the rude appearance of the houses of the town. The scenery of the country around is extensive and grand, in happy unison with the keeping of the whole picture. The people of the country have a proverb, that he who has not seen Istálif has nothing seen. We will not venture to say so much as that, but may be allowed to believe that he who has seen Istálif is not likely to see many places to surpass it, and few to equal it. We were never tired of looking at the luxuriant scene, and left

VIEW OF ISTALIF, IN KOH DAMAN.

with regret, to fix our quarters, although intending to return on the morrow.

We early repaired the following day to the royal castle, and I commenced a sketch of the fair landscape before me. Indisposition compelled me to defer my labour; and crossing the glen, I walked to the town to procure medicine, availing myself of the opportunity to visit the zíárat of Házrat Eshân. Here were a number of slabs with Persian inscriptions, but they proved to be religious mottoes and pious sentences. The curiosity at the zíárat is the number of plane-trees, which together form the mass, which, a conspicuous object to the regions around, appears but one tree in the distance. There is a group of several trees, I think thirty-seven, and the difficulty of counting them correctly is believed to be due to an illusion which enshrouds the consecrated locality. Házrat Eshân is but a recent saint, of not quite a century and half's standing. He came from Túrkistán, and his descendants, all holy men, are still numerous in the Koh Dáman. The spot, however, was probably a shrine of antiquity, and the Házrat has usurped the homage formerly paid to another. Istálif boasts also of the zíárat of Sofí within the town, of that of Noh Lákhí Sáhib, in the glen at the western extremity of its orchards, and of that of Házrat Shâh Mirdân, at Shoráwer, one of its dependent villages, where are some volcanic vestiges and sulphurous springs. A vein of a white friable stone, tinged with a red

colour, is believed to be the pertrified remains of a dragon, slain, as all dragons in these countries are, by the keen-edged Zúlfíkár.

Nearly every householder of Istálif has his garden or orchard. In most of these is a tower, where, as soon as the fruits ripen, the families repair, closing their houses in the town. The people themselves, Tâjíks, are not very amiable, nor are their females very chaste; and the mulberry season, which draws them into the orchards, by affording facilities to their intercourse, is generally marked by sanguinary conflicts and murders, and proves productive in fines to the governor. Besides the town of Istálif, the tálúk comprises the adjacent villages of Gúdára, Perganna, Shonakí, Khwoja Hassan, Malla, Hassan Kacha, and Shoráwer. The town and villages are reckoned to contain together three thousand houses, which would give a population of fifteen thousand to eighteen thousand souls to the tálúk. The revenue derived from it is rated at forty thousand rupees, and this year was enjoyed by Abdúláh Khân, the Atchak Zai sirdár. A great part of the population of the town is of the weaver class, and quantities of coarse cloths, lúnghís, and súsí, are manufactured, and a trade is maintained with Túrkistân. During the years of anarchy which distinguished the downfall of the Sadú Zai monarchs, some individuals of notoriety were produced amongst the turbulent citizens of Istálif.

The most remarkable was Máhomed Shâh Khân, a simple weaver, who rose one morning, and fancied himself destined to be pádshâh of Delhí. Grasping his musket, he left his house alone, shot the two or three first men he met, to show that he was in earnest, and took the road to Kâbal. Before reaching Ferzah he had been joined by several, and then crowds began to flock in to him. At the head of four or five thousand men he entered Kâbal. The court, under Shâh Máhmúd, was absent at Pesháwer; and Prince Súltân Alí, governor, had difficulty to preserve the Bálla Hissár, being compelled to abandon the city to the weaver-king. Shâhzâda Abbás broke from confinement, and aspired to sovereignty; and as Máhomed Shâh Khân's ideas extended far beyond Kâbal, he could afford to support the prince's views there, and an understanding followed between them. The weaver quartered his men on the inhabitants of the city during the winter, and spared the Shía quarter of Chándol, at his mercy, by listening to the hopes of ransom held out to him by the Ghúlám Khâna, then with their sovereign at Pesháwer. In spring Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khân was commissioned to clear the city of the pests assailing it; and arriving with a large body of troops, some hard fighting ensued. Máhomed Shâh Khân was slain, and, Prince Abbas secured, was re-conducted to his prison. More recently, one Bolend Khân made a figure in the country. Alike a weaver ori-

ginally, he became a robber, and flourished so exceedingly that he became the terror of the neighbourhood. He built a castle on an eminence at Istálif, completely overlooking and overawing the town and tálúk. He rendered some important services to Dost Máhomed Khân, which he pleaded when, subsequently, that chief seized him, and ordered him to be put to death. Dost Máhomed Khân acknowledged them, but said he was not about to be slain for the services he had performed, but for the treason he meditated.

On leaving Istálif we passed down the glen for about a mile, and cleared the gardens of the place. We then crossed the river, and traversing a very rocky surface, made the high road, leading a mile and a half to two miles from the hills. Passed the parallel of Shoráwer, where are seen the azdhá, or dragon, and impressions in the rock, believed to be of Daldal, the charger of Házrat Alí. Next that of Kúshâb, a small hamlet, the more northernly of the tálúk of Istálif. Beyond this, we reached the parallel of Istargitch, a collection of villages and orchards. It is famous for its grapes, and was formerly for the refractory spirit of the inhabitants. Dost Máhomed Khân somewhat allayed it by the execution of two of their maleks, who were brothers, Agá Ján and Malekjí Khân. Still further, and computed four cosses from Istálif, we had under the hills another cluster of villages and orchards, called Sanjit Dara. About a coss

beyond, having passed in the interval the castle and hamlet of Raijist, we came in a line with Tope Dara, celebrated for the magnificent tope it contains. Another coss brought us to Chaikal, a village of fifty houses immediately on the road, opposite to the zíárat of the Khwârzáda of Shâh Nakshband. At this point commenced the gardens and cultivation of Cháríkár. At the entrance of the town is a large castle, the residence of Khwoja Pádshâh, one of the hereditary kowânins of the Kohistân, and claiming descent from Házrat Eshân. Our road this morning had been over a tolerably even plain, sometimes crossed by rivulets and canals of water. To our left, as has been noted, were the skirts of the hills, and to our right the open plain of Koh Dáman, with its villages and cultivation. A few black tents were occasionally seen on the plain, the abodes of the Afghân pastoral families, whose flocks grazed it.

I had already made acquaintances in Chárikár, and we halted at the house of one of them, at the opening of the town. After refreshing ourselves we walked up the bazar, about four hundred yards in length, and loosely covered to exclude heat. The town is said to contain about one thousand houses, and carries on an active trade with the neighbouring districts on either side of the Hindú Kosh. It exports the coarse products of the looms of the Kohistân and considerable quantities of iron, both in pigs and manufactured into horse-shoes. At Chá-

ríkár resides the hákam, or governor of the Kohistân; and duties are levied here on merchandize passing to and fro between it and Túrkistân. They were this year farmed for ten thousand rupees.

Cháríkár during the recent military occupation of Kâbal was the seat of a political agent, and the station of the shâh's Gúrkha battalion. When the insurrection broke out the position was attacked by the warlike Kohistânís, and after some days' severe fighting the battalion, sadly diminished in numbers, retired upon Kâbal, and at Karabagh nine miles from Cháríkár, its wrecks, entangled amongst the orchard walls of the town, were overwhelmed and extinguished. The gallant little mountaineers of Nípal would, however, appear to have left their foes as much cause for sorrow as for exultation, and, at least, died worthily.

Early in the morning we took the road to Tútam Dara, carrying our breakfast in our saddle-bags, and accompanied by an acquaintance, one Dádají. To our left we passed the small village of Húpíân, deserted in great measure, but once famous for its saiyads, the principal of whom, Saiyad Ashraf Khân, was slain by Dost Máhomed Khân, and the remainder are fugitives in Sir Aulang. It is farther distinguished by its huge artificial mounds, from which at various times copious antique treasures have been extracted. Beyond Húpíân every glen of the hills had its orchards, until we reached a castle called Killa Walí, where commences the district of Tútam Dara,

immediately preceded by a burial-ground, in which the graves were disposed without much nicety, as many extending from east to west as from north to south. We passed through the village, of about one hundred and fifty houses, the better of which belong to Hindús, who reside here in some number. We made for the seignorial castle of Shesh Búrjeh, belonging to Alí Khân, and seated on an eminence overlooking the river of Ghorband, which here issues from the hills into the basin of the Kohistân. While taking our breakfast, Sirkerder Kamber went to the castle for some butter-milk. The females observing that I had a book in my hand, asked if the âkhúnd was a múlla, and from what country he came. The sirkerder said, from a country one year and one month distant. One of them said, that if the âkhúnd would write a táviz for a person with afflicted eyes it would be a charitable act. The sirkerder promised to inform the âkhúnd. He came to me, and after we had breakfasted returned to the fair Tâjiks, and told them that the âkhúnd had opened his book, and that his nazzar, or sight, had fallen upon a black fowl, which if given he would write a táviz. The females ran into the castle, and a few minutes after came, led by a youngster, a short miserable-looking octogenarian, with his eyes bound up, and weeping most bitterly. Old as he was, he proved to be the husband of one of the prettiest of the Tâjik ladies, was named Azem Khân, and by office názir to

Alí Khân. He fell at my feet, embraced them, and sobbed incessantly. He protested, that he had no black fowl, but would give his shirt or his trowsers, such as they were, if I would write a távíz. I made haste to scribble the letters of the alphabet on a slip of paper, and directed it to be carefully sewn in fine linen and suspended over his temples. For fear the távíz might not be effective, I recommended his wife to coagulate the white of an egg with alum, and apply the mass to his eyes by night, hoping that the epithem of Riverius might benefit him if the charm should not. Dádají was not pleased that I should write a távíz múft, or gratis, and seemed to think that if black fowls were not produced white fowls ought to have been. It is scarcely possible to visit any place in the Koh Dáman or Kohistân without learning some proof of the justice or severity of Dost Máhomed Khân. Here the malek, Alí Khân, is the son of Sâkí Khân, one of the eight maleks seized the same day at Kárabâgh, and executed together at Chárikár.

Alí Khân has secured tolerable interest in the darbár at Kâbal by giving his sister in marriage to Názír Alladád Khân, Júânshír, the brother of Dost Máhomed Khân's mother, and who is the adviser and director of his son, Máhomed Akbar Khân. Názír Alladád has estates at Tútam Dara, and by renewing an ancient canal has brought as much waste land under cultivation as yields an annual return of two hundred kharwárs of grain. He is,

moreover, the hákam, and holds the valley in jághír. He is accustomed to tell his raiyats to repeat fewer prayers, and observe less fasting, but in lieu thereof to speak truth and be more honest.

From the river at Tútam Dara are diverted three magnificent canals, each extending for six cosses, or about nine to ten miles southernly, and for that distance irrigating and fertilizing the plain. The more westernly is called Júí Robát, from terminating at a place so called. The intermediate one is named Júí Khwoja, and terminates at Dowlat Khâka. The third, and easternly one terminates at Karotí. In its course it supplies the villages and lands of Déh Sádúlah, Déh Kází, Baiyân Mír Moghal Khân, Yúrchí, Tokchí, Khwoja Khedarí, Shâkhân, Mâhíghír; beyond which is Karotí. This canal is named the Júí Mâhíghír, and was made, or renewed, by Amír Taimúr.

Tútam Dara has since acquired celebrity, from having been the spot where Dost Máhomed Khân, in his attempt to raise the Kohistân, encountered the British force under General Sale, and where the misconduct of a regiment of native cavalry led to some unfortunate results. Dost Máhomed Khân and his followers, it would seem, were little satisfied with their triumph, for the latter dispersed, and the former, in true Afghân style, observing, that rather than be sold by one of the scoundrels about him, it would be better for him to sell himself, rode off, nearly unattended, to Kâbal, and surrendered to the envoy, Sir W. Macnaghten.

The river of Tútam Dara, flowing from Ghorband, was not at this time wider than thirty feet, nor little more than knee-deep. Its course was impetuous, and over a bed strewed with boulders. Seen from the castle of Alí Khán, the valley was sufficiently picturesque, and I judged it worthy of a sketch. We were now on the brink of the basin of the

TUTAM DARA.

Kohistân, and had skirted the hills which bound Koh Dáman to the west throughout their entire length. I should have been happy to have extended my progress into the Kohistân, but being at this time unable, I returned to Chárikár.

In the evening we repaired to the garden of the

late Díwân Súltân Singh, where we were delighted with a variety of flowers, Indian chrysanthemums, balsams, stocks, Indian pinks, China asters, princes' feathers, French and African marigolds, &c. The paths were planted on either side with safédárs and poplars, and in the centre, where they met, was a takht and summer-house. At one extremity of the garden was a díwân-khâna, or hall of audience, at the other a handsome hamárat, or residence, painted within and without with flowers. The garden to the north was open, allowing a complete and magnificent view of the Kohistân and the Hindú Kosh. It occurred to me, that no Máhomedan would ever have thought of this arrangement. Díwân Súltân Singh was a person of no small importance in his day. He was son of a Sikh of Chárikár, the tarâzadár, or weigher of grain, to Malek Isâ Khân of Máhomed Irâkí, a district near Khwoja Régh Rawân. The son succeeded to his father's office, but subsequently became a partner, or connected with Díwân Damúdúr, the díwân of the Sâk Zai Sirdár Madat Khân. When Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khân returned from Kashmír he called for an account of the revenues of Koh Dáman and Kohistân from Díwâns Ramsah and Gúrsah, who gave false statements. Súltân Singh informed the sirdár of their delinquencies, and was appointed díwân of Koh Dáman and the Kohistân in their stead. He held office during the lifetime of the sirdár and his son, Habíb Ulah Khân.

In the distracted politics of that period, the díwân connected his interests with those of Amínúlah Khân, Logarí, and when the khân, fearing the headstrong violence of the sirdár, turned his attention to Dost Máhomed Khân, the díwân did the same. Mírza Imâm Verdí, the minister of Habíb Ulah Khân, had concerted a plan to secure his master's stability, by the removal of four obnoxious persons, viz. Náib Amínúlah Khân, Hafizjí son of Mír Wais, Shékh Mazár, and Mír Marjatí of the Kohistân. Súltân Singh, known to be eminently bold and reckless, was destined a part in the execution of this scheme. Summoned to a conference with Habíb Ulah and Mírza Imâm Verdí, he was informed of what was intended to be done, and of what was expected from himself. On taking leave he revealed the plot to Náib Amínúlah Khân. This coming to Habíb Ulah Khân's knowledge, he sent Názir Alí Máhomed to secure the díwân, intending to put him to death. The názír told Súltân Singh that Habíb Ulah Khân wished to give him a khelat, and dismiss him to the Kohistân.

Súltân Singh immediately ordered his yábús to be laden, and putting forty armed Kohistânís in front of his horse, accompanied the názir to that part of the Shohar bazár where one road leads to the Bálla Hissár and another to the house of Amínúlah Khân. Súltân Singh took the latter, and the názir reported to the sirdár that the Hindú had foiled him. Habíb Ulah Khân ordered the drums to beat to

arms, and marched on Amínúlah Khân's house. The khân resisted, having been joined by his friends, and the sirdár's efforts to force his house proved ineffectual. These events led to the re-appearance of Dost Máhomed Khân, and the battle on the plain of Kergah, where Habíb Ulah Khân was defeated. Under Dost Máhomed Khân the díwân continued in employ, and was particularly distinguished for the dexterity with which he managed the affairs of the district under his charge. A person of most forbidding features, he had acquired an ascendency in the Kohistân that no person before him had enjoyed. He affected the state of a sirdár, held levées and darbárs, planted gardens at Cháríkár and Saiyad Khél, and built splendid residences and castles. He was suspected of entertaining the notion that the Ráj Gúrú was near at hand, but he was destined to fall. Forgetful of his obligations in early life to Malek Isâ Khân, he obtained, by his representations, an order from Dost Máhomed Khân to seize him. The malek was called to Cháríkár, on pretence of business, was made prisoner, and conveyed to Kâbal. A fine of sixteen thousand rupees was demanded of him, but he had interested in his favour Mírza Samí Khân and Názir Alí Máhomed. Malek Isâ Khân said to Dost Máhomed Khân, "You have sold me to my slave for sixteen thousand rupees; put the slave in his âgá's hands, and you shall have thirty thousand rupees." Dost Máhomed Khân feigned to be

soothed with this proposal, and was not displeased to see competition, as it promised to increase the sum he should get from one or other, or from both of them. Súltân Singh was sent for by Dost Máhomed Khân, who applied to him many abusive epithets, and talked, without intending to do so much, of making him a Mússulmân. On reaching home the díwân sent for a rupee's weight, or value of arsenic, discoursed with his friends, like Cato, upon the immortality of the soul, dismissed them, locked his door, and swallowed the poison. Dost Máhomed Khân was exceedingly sorry when informed of his death. Nor is this the only instance when he has had to regret having driven a high-spirited man to self-destruction. Malek Isâ Khân now excused himself from paying anything, as the díwân had not been made over to him, and the sirdár, ashamed of the affair, gave him his liberty. He, however, benefited by the appropriation of the estates and property of the unfortunate Súltân Singh.

From Chárikár, in company with a young lad, the son of our landlord, I walked up to Tope Dara, where I had before been. Midway the surface is strewed with huge boulders, and sprinkled with arghawân bushes, so beautiful in blossom at the commencement of spring. As we neared the hills the yellow fish, the red sévitch, and the sherín búí, or liquorice-plant, were plentiful. A little north of the dara is a castle called Jâh Nimâhí, or the place of prospect. Built by one Khwoja

Jân, it is now inhabited by a few wretched families from Sír Aulang. At the opening of the dara into the plain are some large tumuli, one honoured by the name of Rústam. The castle of Tope Dara, situated in a picturesque and commanding situation, has been suffered to fall into decay. The village comprises about sixty houses, constructed clumsily of stones. Passing through it, we proceeded to the Tope, and I occupied myself for some time in making sketches of it. About the monument were numerous caper-trees, of a species similar to that of the Baloch and Persian hills. Proceeding a little up the dara, which has a fine brook running down it, whose volume of water was considerably augmented by the earthquake of last year, we found a convenient place to rest in, and were supplied by the villagers with mulberries. I had to strike sparks from a flint over the heads of two children, and learned that persons who had crossed the Atak river are supposed to possess some peculiar powers. We remained here until evening, when we were joined by a party, composed of the relatives of Mír Hakjí Sáhib and the son of Khwoja Pádshâh of Chárikár. We had a fresh regale of mulberries. When they departed we went a little farther up the dara to see a spring, called Nekkak Perída, or Flying Nekkak. We found a smooth perpendicular rock, from the base of which issues the spring, and which receives its name from one Nekkak, whose misfortune it was to fall from the top of the rock. We had several

of the villagers with us, and they pointed out two stones, in one of which was a hole, as they said, the perforation of a spear; in the other a fissure, caused by a sword-wound. The stones, I was assured, represented a brother and sister, slain by kâfrs, or infidels. From an eminence overlooking the plain I next took a few bearings, and my compass created no small astonishment; I however soon made them familiar with it, and indulged them by looking through it, after I had fixed the hair-line on an object. In this way they became useful as well as pleased, and told me the names of places that I did not know. I hitherto said nothing about opening the Tope, neither did I inquire for the malek, as the time had not come, but appeared in the village, as I had done before, a casual visitor. Having completed my observations, we bade adieu to the friendly villagers, and passing the mound called the tomb of Rústam's son, we struck across the plain for Chárikár. In our progress we observed a man at some distance, who as soon as he descried us left his path, tucked up the skirts of his garments, and with his musket trailed and his body bent, glided from behind one stone to another. He did not appear to be dodging us, but rather taking precautions against us. On nearing him, so that my young companion could catch a glance at him, he was recognized as a fugitive of Húpián, who had stealthily visited his friends at Istargitch, and was now on his return to

Sir Aulang. The poor wretch feared to encounter in every one he met an enemy. He relaxed a little on finding that he had nothing to apprehend from us, but preserved his caution and distance, and I could not but admire his activity.

Visible from Chárikár is a white building, at Séh Yárân, or the three friends, which the people call a sandúk, or chest, believing it to have been built for some other purpose than to enclose a tomb. As the spot is one which was honoured by the emperor Baber's approbation, and which he embellished with fountains and chanár-trees, it behoved me to visit it. In my way to Tope Dara yesterday, I had been near to it, as it lies about a mile only north of it, but judging I should have enough to occupy me there during the day, I did not deviate from the road. I again, as the distance was trifling, left my Kâbal companions behind, and proceeded on foot with my landlord's young son. The sandúk, as it is called, proved to be the remains of a quadrangular building, having a pillar inserted at each of the angles. The entrance faced the south, which seemed to imply, that it was not originally a tomb, although there were two marble grave-stones standing within its walls. It had also once been covered with a cupola, which seemed likewise to have been an addition, but it had in great measure fallen. Hence we passed to the ziárat of Derwísh, where there are fountains and chanár-trees, which we might have attributed to

the social king, of whom, however, no tradition is preserved here, had we not been led still farther on towards Killa Khúrbân, where are many ancient sepulchral mounds, and where a spring of water issues high up in the hills. Here were some venerable chanár-trees; and the locality is to this day one of favourite resort to the people of Cháríkár. There could be little doubt but that this was the place which had delighted Baber. The water from the spring forms a canal on the plain below, irrigating a small garden at the base of the hill. At Séh Yárân is a village of some forty houses, and Killa Khúrbân is a deserted castle. South of the latter is a ravine, supplied with a rivulet, and containing a few orchards and dwellings, named Takía. We followed this ravine until it merged into the plain, which we then traversed and regained our quarters. On my first visit to Cháríkár I found the inhabitants, who are not particularly famed for civility, inclined to be merry at my expense, and in walking the bazár I incurred the hazard of being mobbed, one rogue passing the word to the other that a "múrgh noh," or strange bird, had come. On better acquaintance, however, they had become very respectful and tractable, and in lieu of their jeers and jests I received in passing their Salám álíkams and Khúsh ámadéds.

As Sanjit Dara was one of the spots between Istálif and Tope Dara which I had not seen, I proposed to devote a day to an excursion to it;

and accordingly we mounted, and proceeded across the plain to Tope Dara; whence we intended to skirt the hills. A good many ravines intersected our road, otherwise pretty good. At about two miles we passed the agricultural village of Shâhmak, with an excellent canal. To the left of the road there were some vestiges, in stone parapets and mounds, not of much importance, and in the hills to our right we observed the entrances to several samúches, or caves. Hence we gained the villages and gardens of Sanjit Dara, and halted for the day under some walnut-trees on the bank of its rivulet. Here are collected seven or eight villages. The principal ziárat is distinguished by a magnificent chanár-tree. The soil is too rocky to be turned to great profit, and prevents the cultivation of the vine to any extent. The orchards are principally stocked with mulberry and walnut-trees. We were preparing to return to Chárikár, when we were told that Máhomed Jáfar Khân, one of my Bâmíán companions, was encamped below the dara, and that he held some of the villages in jághír. We paid him a visit, and accepted his invitation to become his guests for the evening. A sheep was killed, and, while our supper was preparing, the khân and myself were engaged in conversation. He was intent upon forming a canal, the obstacles to which were some rocks. He seriously inquired of me whether they might not be removed by vinegar. I told him all I knew about Hannibal

and the Alps, but recommended him, nevertheless, to try the effects of a little powder.

From Sanjit Dara we returned to Chárikár, and taking farewell of our friends, crossed the canal, or Júí Robát, flowing through the town, and passed over a fertile tract, cultivated chiefly with cotton. We then crossed the Júí Khwoja, and subsequently Júí Mâhíghír, a little after which we reached Killa Mír Saiyad Khân. The owner received us with politeness, and lodged us in his míhmân-khâna, but complaining of heat, I was conducted to the garden. There we found a doctor of Kâbal, who had just returned from Bokhára Sheríf, where he had realized three thousand rupees by his practice. He was a dwarfish, hook-nosed, morose old gentleman, and disposed to have displayed his erudition had I countenanced him. He remarked, that he had known two or three Feringhís, who administered mercury, copperas, arsenic, and other poisons, while his own practice was according to the genuine Yúnání, or Greek system, and safe.

A primary object of my rambles into the Kohistân of Kâbal was to ascertain if any vestiges existed which I might venture to refer to Alexandria ad Caucasum, the site of which, I felt assured, ought to be looked for at the skirts of the Híndú Kosh in this quarter. I had before reached the borders of the plain of Bégrám, and had heard strange stories of the innumerable coins, and other relics, found on the soil, but had been unable to procure a specimen,

all to whom I applied, whether Hindú or Mússulmân, denying they had any such things in possession. I now purposed to obtain from Mír Saiyad Khân a party of his retainers to enable me to traverse and survey the plain, which is dangerous to do, owing to the marauders infesting it. He provided half a dozen horsemen, a sufficient escort, as, being known to the robbers, they are not interrupted by them. Having passed the large ruinous village Ghúlám Shâh we arrived at Killa Bolend, on the brink of the Kohistán basin, and at the commencement of the plain. There were seven considerable Hindú traders here, but we applied to them for coins in vain. We therefore proceeded across the plain until we reached a tope at the eastern extremity of Koh Bacha, and near Júlgha. Of this monument I made a sketch, and noted my observations of the country. When we were well back on our return I dismissed Mír Saiyad Khân's party, and we struck across the plain to Killa Khwoja, a small village, where we were welcomed by Malek Gafúr, a friend of my companion, Sirkerder Kamber. We heard fresh tales of Bégrám, and the treasures found there, and my curiosity was so intensely excited, that I determined to revisit it, taking with us Mír Afzil, the malek's son, who had friends in the vicinity. Accordingly, with him for our guide, we passed successively the villages and castles of Déh Ghúlám Alí, Mahíghír, seated on the canal of that name, Killas Ghúlám and Járúla, Koh Déh, Killa Illaiyár,

and Gújar Khél, beyond which was Killa Bolend. We were there received by a dyer; and Mír Afzil descended into the valley below to inquire for a friend, residing at one of the castles of Bâltú Khél. I repaired to the roof of the dyer's house, and wished to have taken bearings, but the wind was too violent to permit me to remain at ease. Mír Afzil returned with Baloch Khân, a fine honest young man, who brought me a present of melons and grapes. This was the commencement of an acquaintance, which continued as long as I remained at Kâbal; and Baloch Khân greatly assisted me in my subsequent researches, as I could always, when needed, call upon him and his armed followers to attend me in my excursions, and to protect the people I sent. He now exerted himself to procure coins; and at last an old defaced one was produced by a Máhomedan, for which I gave two pais, which induced the appearance of others, until the Hindús ventured to bring forth their bags of old monies, from which I selected such as suited my purpose. I had the satisfaction to obtain in this manner some eighty coins, of types which led me to anticipate bright results from the future. The fears and scruples of the owners had been overcome, and I remained some time at Killa Bolend, securing their confidence. It had been feared that I should employ bigáris, or forced labourers, to scour the plain in search of antique relics, on which account it had been determined to conceal from me, if possible, their

existence. I afterwards learned from a zirghar, or goldsmith, of Chárikár, that at the time I applied to him he had three cháraks, or about fifteen pounds in weight of old coins by him, which his companions deterred him from exhibiting. I made myself well informed as to the mode, and by whom these coins were found; and the clue to them once discovered, the collection became an easy matter, although it subsequently proved that a long time was necessary before I became fully master of the plain. While this traffic was carried on, the report had spread that a Feringhí had come to engage soldiers, and crowds came from the neighbouring castles to ascertain the truth, and what pay was given. I now thought it better to leave, and accordingly we retraced our steps to Killa Khwoja.

We had intended to have made a long march next day, but at the first castle we reached the sirkerder was recognized by the people without, and we were induced to remain there for the day. The castle was built by one Músa Khân, since dead, and the honours of our entertainment were performed by Assad Khân, a fine youth, the younger of his two sons living.

In the morning I ascended one of the towers of the castle, and took bearings, and after breakfast we started on our road towards Kâbal. As in coming we had skirted the plain of Koh Dáman to the west, so in returning we skirted its eastern limits. Under the hills parallel to our course is the

site of a city, called, by tradition, Tátarang Zár. It extends for a long distance, but appears to be a continuation of the ancient sepulchral grounds of Bégrám, from which it is separated only by the river of Koh Dáman. Coins, trinkets, &c., are frequently picked up on the surface. Passing the village of Bâgh Alam, of one hundred houses, and then Killa Kerimdád, we came upon the river, in a wide bed, but the stream is inconsiderable. East of it was a hill called Chehel Dokhtarân, or the forty virgins, who have as much celebrity in these countries as the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne have in Europe. Hence we passed the village Langar, of sixty houses, and then a castle called Killa Godar; after which came the village of Bázárí, containing forty houses; from which we proceeded to Kállakhân, where the sirkerder found a friend, one Zéhin Khân, who would not allow us to proceed farther. Kállakhân is a large village of four hundred houses, the greater part of which are fortified. Its revenue is enjoyed by Ahmed Khân, son of the late Nawâb Samad Khân, and it is famed for raisins of superior flavour. In the evening I mounted, for the purpose of visiting a tope near Korrinder. We passed to the left, in succession, the small village of Múshwâní, and the larger one of Korrinder, then the castle of Rohilla Khân, Popal Zai. Crossing a deep ravine, we came to the seignorial castles of Lúchú Khân, held by the family of Hâjí Ráhmatúlah, one of whose daughters is the favourite wife of Dost Máhomed Khân, and

mother of his son Máhomed Akbár Khân. Hence turning to the east, we crossed the river of Koh Dáman, and struck easterly to the tope, on the eminences overlooking the plain. I examined and made a sketch of the structure; after which repaired to another building, a little more easterly, and lower down towards the river, called Chéní Khâna. This was an octagonal building, neatly constructed of excellent kiln-burnt bricks. It had been originally crowned with a cupola, and had been superbly painted with flowers and other devices, in tints of lapis lazuli, red, yellow, and other colours; whence, I presume, its modern appellation. It had four entrances from the several cardinal points with an aberration of twenty degrees; but there was no recess which could serve for a kabla, or to point it out as a Máhomedan edifice. Within there was a grave-stone, bearing a rather licentious copy of verses, or epitaph, and the date 1211 of the Hejra, which did not, consequently, apply to the edifice, which certainly had an antiquity of some centuries. It stands on an eminence, buttressed with masonry to the north, west, and south. Having completed inspection, we retrograded to Kállakhân.

In the morning we skirted the hills to the Kotal of Mámá Khâtún. On our right we had an immense artificial mound, said to denote the site of an ancient fortress, and called Killa Rájpút. Its summit is now crowned by mud walls, of comparatively recent construction. The kotal has an easy

commencement, and a plain is crossed for above half a mile, when we reach a chokí. Hence the ascent is more marked for two or three hundred yards, until the summit is reached, where is a takht, or basement of stones, from which we have a good view of the plain of Kára Dúshman, and the country and hills to the east. At the termination of the kotal, or where commences the plain of Kâra Dúshman, is the dilapidated castle built by Iltáfat Khân, Khwoja, in the serai appertaining to which we halted, to avoid the meridian sun. The castle and lands are farmed by Názir Khairúlah, for some four or five thousand rupees annually; and he is a most severe landlord. A splendid masjít is attached to the castle, but has been suffered to fall into decay. The fine garden has been destroyed, and nothing of verdure remains but an avenue of mulberry-trees, leading from the foot of the kotal to the castle. Iltáfat Khân was a khwoja, or eunuch to the Sadú Zai princes, and designed this castle, with its gardens and establishments, which were most complete, to perpetuate his name. The course of events has made them crown property, and they are neglected, as such property generally is. About three o'clock we resumed our journey, and at three quarters of a mile from the castle crossed a deep ravine, in which was a small rivulet, which flows across the plain to Killa Kâjí, and eventually to Aga Serai. A course of five miles cleared us of the plain, and led us to the foot of the Kotal Pâh Mínár, crossing

a low range of hills separating the plain of Kâra Dúshman from the pastures, or chaman of Vazírabád. At its southern base is the small ruinous village, called after the kotal, and a little beyond it to the east is the village Déh Yaiya. On the crest of the kotal is a chokí, from which an extensive view is commanded, and we had again the pleasure to behold before us Kâbal and its environs. Descending into the plain, we passed to our right a deserted castle, built by Mír Wais, and a large tumulus. We had subsequently to wade through a mass of stagnant water and mud, up to our horses' girths, for nearly a mile, when we reached the castles and villages of Bímárú, and then the Kaiabân of Shâh Zemân, from which we pushed on to the Bálla Hissár, closing a very agreeable excursion.

CHAPTER VII.

Collections of coins.—Jealousy.—Importance of discoveries.—Antiques.—Site of Bégrám.—Hill ranges.—Neighbourhood of Bégrám.—Tope.—Character of the Kohistán.—Magnificent view.—Boundaries of Bégrám.—Evidences.—Mounds.—Tumuli.—Stones.—Site of city.—Deposits with the dead.—Testimony of Herodotus.—Funereal jars.—Traditions.—Mode of sepulture.—Absence of data.—Húpíán.—Canal Máhighír.—Taimúr's colony.—Decline of Bégrám.—Signification of Bégrám.—Bégrám of Kábal.—Bégrám of Jelálabád.—Bégrám of Peshâwer.—Etymology.—Topes.—Antiquities of Kohistân.—Perwân.—Bégh Rawân.—Localities in Panjshír.—Caves in Nijrow.—Vestiges in Taghow.—Ruins in Ghorband.—Caves.—Ziárat.

The discovery of so interesting a locality as that of Bégrám imposed upon me new, agreeable, and I should hope, not unprofitable employment. I availed myself of every opportunity to visit it, as well with the view to secure the rich memorials of past ages it yielded as to acquire a knowledge of the adjacent country.

Before the commencement of winter, when the plain, covered with snow, is of course closed to research, I had accumulated one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five copper coins, besides a few silver ones, many rings, signets, and other relics. The

next year, 1834, the collection which fell into my hands amounted to one thousand nine hundred copper coins, besides other relics. In 1835 it increased to nearly two thousand five hundred copper coins, and in 1836 it augmented to thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy-four copper coins. In 1837, when I had the plain well under control, and was enabled constantly to locate my people upon it, I obtained sixty thousand copper coins, a result at which I was well pleased, having at an early period of my researches conjectured that so many as thirty thousand coins might annually be procured. The whole of the coins, and other antiquities, from Bégrám, with several thousands of other coins, brought to light in various parts of Afghânistân, have been forwarded to the Honourable the East India Company.

The failure of the Kâbal mission in 1838 compelled me to leave the country and to suspend my labours. I had found, that I was not permitted to prosecute them without suffering from jealousy in certain quarters, and when I was desirous to resume them in 1840, the hostility of a miserable fraction of the Calcutta clique prevented my purpose, by acts as unprecedented, base, and illegal, as, perhaps, were ever perpetrated under the sanction of authority against a subject of the British crown.

It may be superfluous to dwell upon the importance of the Bégrám collections; independently of the revelation of unknown kings and dynasties, they impart great positive knowledge, and open a wide

field for speculation and inquiry on the very material subjects of the languages and religions prevailing in Central Asia during the dark periods of its history. Astonishing as are many of the conclusions forced upon us, because in opposition to opinions before current, and now proved to be erroneous, it is a source of unqualified satisfaction that not only has the progress of discovery confirmed the veracity of our justly esteemed classical authorities, but at every new step it teaches us to appreciate the value of our Scriptural records, which alone have preserved a rational account of the growth and spreading of the human race.

Besides coins, Bégrám has yielded very large numbers of engraved seals, some of them with inscriptions, figures of men and animals, particularly of birds, cylinders, and parallelogramic amulets with sculptured sides, rings, and a multitude of other trinkets, and miscellaneous articles, generally of brass and copper; many of which are curious and deserve description. The reasons which confine me to a mere allusion to the results of my researches at Bégrám need not restrict me as regards the locality, which, besides its pretensions to be considered Alexandria ad Caucasum, has other claims to notice. It occurs about twenty-five miles in a direct distance from the present city of Kâbal, and is situated at the south-east point of the level country of the Kohistán, in an angle formed by the approach of a lofty and extensive mountain range, trending from

the superior Caucasus on the one side, and by an inferior range, (the Síáh Koh,) on the other. The former range, while it separates the Kohistân from the populous valley of Nijrow to the east, defines to the west the course of the lengthened valley of Panjshír. The latter range, commencing about fifteen miles east of Kâbal, stretches to the north, and gradually sinks into the plain of Bégrám. Through a break in this range, called Tang-i-Khârún, nearly east from Kâbal, flows the united streams of Kâbal and Loghar, which, surmounting a magnificent fall, winds among the hilly districts in its course to Lúghmân and Jelálabád. The range itself forms a prominent feature in the landscape of Kâbal, displaying a bold precipitous front, and, being of gneiss, has the appearance of being stratified. Behind, or east of the Síáh Koh, is a hilly, not mountainous, tract, although waste and desolate, named Koh Sáfi, from the tribe that pasture their flocks in it; and this tract intervenes between the Síáh Koh and the valley of Taghow; moreover, through it meanders the river of the Kohistân, until, at a spot near Súrbí, it unites with the river of Kâbal. Through the open space formed by the approach of the above noted ranges the river of Kohistân, formed by the accession of the larger streams of Panjshír, Perwân, and Ghorband, with the minor rivulets of Kohistân and Koh Dáman, directs its course, describing, at the point where it quits the basin of the Kohistân, the northern

boundary of the plain of Bégrám. Parallel to the river, also leads the high road from the Kohistân to Nijrow, Taghow, and Jelálabád.

Bégrám is comprised within an extensive district called Khwoja Khedarí. To the north, it has an abrupt descent into the cultivated lands and pastures of the Bâltú Khél and Kerimdád Khél families, which interpose between it and the river for the extent of perhaps a mile, or until the river reaches the base of a singular eminence called Búrj Abdúlah, which, from the remains of walls and mounds on its summit, was undoubtedly an appurtenance of the ancient city. Beyond, or east of Búrj Abdúlah, another small space, devoted to culture, with two or three castles, called Karaichí, fills a curvature in the direction of the abrupt boundary of the plain with the course of the river. Beyond extends a low detached hill, called Koh Bacha, for about a mile and half, separating for that distance the level dasht from the river. At the eastern extremity of Koh Bacha is one of those remarkable structures we call topes; and on the opposite, or northern side of the river, are the castles and cultivated lands of Máhomed Irâkhí, and beyond them a sterile sandy tract gradually ascends to a celebrated hill and zíárat, called Khwoja Régh Rawân, an interesting point in the scenery from Bégrám, and thence to the skirts of the superior hill range above mentioned, high up on which the gardens of the village of Dúrnámeh,

(a corruption of Dúr Namâhí, or conspicuous from afar,) are visible. This village is famous as a residence of a desperate band of robbers, who infest their vicinity in general, and the plain of Bégrám in particular; also for affording asylum and protection to the outlaws of Kâbal. East of the tope, the level plain stretches for above a mile, until, with the same character of abrupt termination, it sinks into the low lands of Júlgha, where are numerous castles, much cultivated land, and, as the name Júlgha implies, a large extent of pasture.

The Kohistân, it may be observed, and which may better show the position of Bégrám, is a punch-bowl, or basin, on three sides surrounded by hills, and on the fourth, or southern side, by a comparatively elevated tract, which forms, as it were, the rim, and runs sinuously from Tútam Dara—the point where issues into the basin the river of Ghorband—and passing, as we have seen, the plain of Bégrám, extends easterly to Júlgha. This basin may have a circumference of thirty-five to forty miles. The higher lands of Bégrám on the one side, and of Máhomed Irâkhí on the opposite one, form the spout to this basin, from which descend its waters upon the lower countries eastward. The *coup d'œil* presented is most magnificent; the winding courses of the rivers, the picturesque appearance of the gardens and castles, the verdure of the pastures, the bold and varied aspect of the environing hills, crowned by the snowy summits

of the Hindú Kosh, form a landscape whose beauty can scarcely be conceived but by those who have witnessed it. The natives of these countries are apt to compare it with the scenery about Herát and the Kohistân of Meshed, but they, as well as the neighbourhood of Ispahân, which is very beautiful, must yield the palm to the Kohistân of Kâbal.

The boundaries of the dasht of Bégrám are the lands of Júlgha to the east, the level plain of Mâhíghír to the west, the river of Kohistán to the north, and to the south what is called the river of Koh Dáman. At the north-west angle of the dasht is the small village of Killa Bolend, where reside a few Hindú traders, who have considerable intercourse with the neighbouring hill tribes, and at the south-west angle are three castles, called Killa Yezbáshi, distant from Killa Bolend about four miles.

Notwithstanding the vast numbers of relics discovered on the plain, other evidences that a city once stood on it are not so palpable as to have attracted extraordinary attention, had it not been imperatively directed to the locality from the circumstance of the discovery of the numerous and singular antique treasures at it. In many places, indeed, it has been proved, that by digging about a yard in depth, lines of cement, seeming to denote the outlines of structures and their apartments, may be found. On the edge of the plain to the north, where it abruptly sinks into the low lands of

Bâltu Khél, from Killa Bolend to Karaichí is a line of artificial mounds; but such objects are so universal in occurrence throughout the Afghân countries that, in ordinary instances, they might claim only a cursory notice. On the summit of the eminence called Búrj Abdúlah are the remains of stone walls, marking a square enclosure; they are, however, loosely arranged, and, I should rather conjecture, denote the remains of a more recent castle than an edifice of the ancient Bégrám; some mounds, however, found on it, may have a greater antiquity. South of, and contiguous to Búrj Abdúlah, are some mounds of great magnitude, and accurately describing a square, of considerable dimensions. On one side of this square, in 1833, the exterior front of the mound subsided deep into the earth, and disclosed that these mounds were constructed of huge unburnt bricks, two spans square and one span thick. This accident also enabled me to ascertain that the original breadth of these stupendous walls, for such we must suppose them to have been, could not have been less than sixty feet, while it may have been much more. Among the mounds near Killa Bolend is a large tumulus, which appears to have been coated with thin squares of white marble; and near it, in a hollow formed in the soil, is a large square stone, which the Máhomedans call Sang Rústam (Rústam's stone); and which the Hindús, without knowing why, reverence so far

as to pay occasional visits to it, to daub it with sindúr, or red-lead, and to light lamps at it. In the Máhomedan burial-ground of Killa Bolend is a fragment of sculptured green stone, made to serve as a head-stone to a grave; above four feet is above ground, and we were told as much more was concealed below. This is a relique of the ancient city; and we meet with another and larger but plain green stone applied to a similar purpose in a burial-place called Shéhidân, or the place of martyrs, under Koh Bacha. In a zíárat at Chárí-kár is also a fragment of sculptured green stone; and it is remarkable, that all fragments of stone which we discovered, and which we may suppose to have reference to the ancient city, are of the same species of coloured stone. The inhabitants of these parts are now ignorant whence it was procured, although, doubtless, from the inferior hills of the Caucasus to the north, where steatite is so abundant that the people dwelling in them make their cooking utensils of it; and steatite, with jade, and other magnesian green stones, are found together in the lower hills of the Saféd Koh range, south of the valley of Jelálabád.

In specifying the extensive limits over which coins and other relics are brought to light, we must not be understood as conveying the notion that the entire space defined by them was once filled by a city. We should rather suppose not, and that it is to the ancient burial-grounds of the

former city we are indebted for the supplies of curiosities we meet with. If asked to assign the site of the city, I should, fixing the enormous square enclosure south of Búrj Abdúlah as the fort, or citadel, locate it between those remains and the western portion of the plain, or towards Killa Bolend and Mâhíghír, in which space coins are found in far less number, while scoriæ, lumps of iron, fragments of glazed earthenware (the latter a peculiar token, in opposition to the common baked pottery which is scattered over the whole plain,) are found more abundantly than in other spots. In this part also, besides the remains of walls, may be traced the courses of the ancient canals, by their parallel lines of embankment. The presence of mounds, the casual discovery of coins, and other antiques, are generally supposed to indicate the site of a city, whereas, they may only point out that of its burial-grounds; a distinction worthy of notice, when the detection of an actual site is important, and which might possibly be usefully applied to some of the celebrated old sites in the world, as Babylon, Nineveh, &c., particularly when we have reason to believe that, with the ancients, their burial-places were without the city, and independent of it. The probability that the great numbers of coins and other reliques, discovered on the dasht of Bégrám, are merely deposits with the ashes of the dead, as prescribed by the usages and superstitions of former times, is strengthened

by the knowledge that such deposits were in practice, and the articles found alike confirm it. Coins were mingled with them, that the expense of transit over the rivers of Paradise might be provided for; as with the Greek or Roman corpse was placed a fee for the ferryman Charon. Rings, seals, beads, ear-rings, small images, &c., were either the property of the deceased or the votive offerings of friends; arrow-heads, frequently occurring, may mean that the deceased was a warrior, or that he was fond of archery. The collections from Bégrám have furnished a great variety of engraved signets, and many gems, curious as specimens of art, with multitudes of small sculptured animals, particularly of birds. A passage in Herodotus, while it admirably accounts for the production of many of the relics elicited in the burial-grounds of ancient Babylon, serves also to explain why similar results should be obtained in those of Bégrám. Speaking of the old inhabitants of Babylon, he says, "Each person has a seal-ring, and a cane, or walking-stick, upon the top of which is carved an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, or some figure or other, for to have a stick without a device is unlawful."

The immense distribution of fragments of pottery may be satisfactorily explained, when we recollect that the mode particularly prevalent of treating the bodies of the dead was by cremation, then collecting the ashes and lodging them in earthern

jars, which were finally deposited beneath the soil. These funereal jars, in the course of ages, have become affected by damp, and consequently fragile, as by the abrasion of the surface of the soil they and their fragments have become exposed; hence we discover the fragments mixed with the soil, and the coins and other relics originally deposited with them. Entire jars are, indeed, sometimes found: and the lines of cement, before noted, as discoverable about a yard beneath the surface, if horizontal, may indicate the floors on which these jars were placed; and, if perpendicular, the separation of one deposit from the other.

The traditions of the country assert the city of Bégrám to have been the Sheher Yúnán, or Greek city, overwhelmed by some natural catastrophe, and the evidence of its subterranean lines and apartments is appealed to in support of them. If we have rightly conjectured their nature, they are found only in their natural position, and afford evidence of another kind. The present Hindús call the site Balrám, and suppose it to have been the capital of Rájá Bal.

There is a peculiar feature attending the deposit of the sepulchral jars, that not only was it necessary to cover them with earth, but it was essential that the earth should contain no stones or other extraneous substances. So particular was this deemed that in many situations on the ascent of hills, where earth could not be found, it has clearly

been brought from the plains beneath, and always carefully sifted. In all the old burial-places of Afghânistân we witness the feeling as manifestly as if expressed on a Roman tomb-stone, Sit tibi terra levis. In traversing the dasht of Bégrám not a stone is met with; the reason obviously, that the surface is actually composed of the prepared earth, spread over the ancient places of sepulture.

It is mortifying, when making inquiries as to the former history of a site, on which we find coins of ages in regular succession from Alexander to the Máhomedan era, to learn no better account of it than the traditions above-mentioned afford, and while we are compelled to conjecture doubtingly upon its origin, to have no precise data on which even to estimate the period of its decay and final ruin. That it existed for some centuries after the Máhomedan invasion of these countries, is proved by the vast numbers of Cufic coins found at it; which, moreover, seem to show that the early conquerors of Islám did not particularly interfere with the religion of the conquered, or of such that submitted to their temporal dominion, as the practice of cremation must have been continued, and would not have been followed had the people become Máhomedans. It is not, indeed, improbable that this city, like many others, may owe its destruction to the implacable Jenghiz; but, if so, we ought to detect some notice of it

in the extant histories of that conqueror, and of his period.

Without affecting the probability that at Bégrám, or in its immediate neighbourhood, was the site of Alexandria ad Caucasum, it will be remembered that the narratives of Chinese travellers expressly state that, subsequently, there was a capital city in this part of the country called Húpíân. A locality of this name still exists between Cháríkár and Tútam Dara; and I have noted that it possesses many vestiges of antiquity; yet, as they are exclusively of a sepulchral and religious character, the site of the city to which they refer may rather be looked for at the actual village of Malek Húpíân, on the plain below, and near Cháríkár, by which it may have been replaced as the principal town, as, more anciently, it superseded another, perhaps Alexandria itself.

That Bégrám ceased to exist at the time of Taimúr's expedition into India we have negative proof, furnished by his historian, Sherífadín, who informs us that Taimúr, in his progress from Anderâb to Kâbal, encamped on the plain of Bárân (the modern Baiyân, certainly); and that while there he directed a canal to be cut, which was called Mâhíghír; by which means the country, before desolate and unproductive, became fertile and full of gardens. The lands, thus restored to cultivation, the conqueror apportioned among sundry of his followers. The canal of Mâhíghír exists

at this day, preserving the name conferred upon it by Taimúr. A considerable village, about a mile west of Bégrám, standing on the canal, has a similar appellation, and probably also owes its origin to Taimúr, who may have attempted in it to have revived or renewed the ancient city. This canal of Mâhíghír, derived from the river of the Ghorband valley, at the point where it issues from the hills into the basin of the Kohistân, irrigates the lands of Baiyân and Mâhíghír, and has a course of about ten miles. Had the city of Bégrám then existed these lands immediately to the west of it would not have been waste, and neglected; neither would Taimúr have found it necessary to cut his canal, as the city, when existing, must have been supplied with water from the same source, that is, from the river of Ghorband, and from the same point, that is, at the exit of its waters from the hills into the basin; and the canals supplying the city must have been directed through these very lands of Mâhíghír and Baiyan, which Taimúr found waste and unproductive. The site of Bégrám, although having to the north the great river of the Kohistân, could not have been irrigated from it, as its stream flows in low land, considerably beneath the level of the dasht, besides being too distant. On the south it has the river of Koh Dáman; but this, while only partially and casually provided with water, runs in a sunken bed, and is alike inapplicable to the purposes of irrigation.

It may be farther noted with reference to the colonization of Mâhíghír by Taimúr, that the inhabitants of Khwoja Khedarí, while forgetful as to whom their forefathers owed their settlement in this country, acknowledge their Túrkí descent, and alone of all the inhabitants of the Kohistân speak the Túrkí language.

The appellation Bégrám, although it may be questioned whether such was ever the peculiar name of the city, must still be considered indicative of the former importance of the site it now designates; undoubtedly signifying the chief city, the capital, the metropolis. Still, it must be borne in mind, especially, when considering the coins found on it, that it must generally have been a provincial capital. About three miles east of Kâbal we have a village and extensive pasture retaining the name of Bégrám; and if we inquire whether we have any vestiges of a former city at the spot, numerous mounds, and a series of magnificent topes on the skirts and in the recesses of the neighbouring hills to the south, seem to attest the fact—and would denote, might we infer from the single coin found in one of these buildings by M. Honigberger, who examined them, that the capital of King Mokadphises, or Kadphises, and his lineage, was there located; or, should not that inference be granted, that a city of some consequence existed here, for the structure was probably, if not connected with that sovereign, erected in his time. Two large cities

could scarcely have been located so close together as Bégrám and the present Kâbal, therefore it is possible that the predecessor of the modern city may have been Bégrám (under, however, some other and peculiar name), on the banks of the river of Loghar, which winds through its meadows. A character of sanctity is yet preserved to the Loghar river in this spot, for to the adjacent village of Shévakí the Hindús of Kâbal annually repair to celebrate the vésák holidays.

Near Jelálabád a spot called Bégrám, about a mile and half or two miles west of the present town, would seem to denote the site of the former capital of the province; and that a city has flourished here, with its periods of importance and prosperity, we are not permitted to doubt; not merely by considering the actual state of the country and the advantages of position, but from the existence in the neighbourhood of three distinct series of topes, at Darúnta, Chahár Bâgh, and Hidda, without enumerating independent and isolated ones. The vicinity of Bégrám, indeed the entire plain of Jelálabád, is literally covered with tumuli and mounds. These are truly sepulchral monuments, but, with the topes, sanction the inference that a very considerable city existed here, or that it was a place of renown for sanctity. It may have been both. Tradition affirms, that the city on the plain of Jelálabád was called Ajúna, and alike asserts that the ancient Lahore was there; which may mean, that prior to the para-

mount sovereignty in these countries being possessed by Lahore (it must be remembered it was so when Máhmúd of Ghazní first invaded India), it was established here.

Near Pesháwer we have a spot also called Bégrám, distinguished by its mounds and tamarisk-trees, marking the site of an ancient city; and that this epithet of eminence and distinction was continued up to a recent date we learn from Baber and Abúl Fazil.

The term bé-grám appears composed of the Túrkí bé or bí (chief) and the Hindí "grâm" (city); the latter word, while still colloquially employed by the people on the banks of the Indus, was once probably of more general use in the countries of the Afghâns, but has been superseded by the Persian "sheher," and "abád," with the Hindí "púr." Besides these four Bégráms, there is Oshter-grám in the Kohistân; Sal-grám, a Hindú ziárat in Panjshír; Pesh-grám, in Bájor; No-grám, in Pánchtá, &c., all sites of considerable antiquity.

It has been observed that at the extremity of Koh Bacha is a tope, which on examination furnished no useful result. Judging from its appearance, it has not so great an antiquity as many others near Kábal and at Jelálabád.

There is another at Alísai, ten or twelve miles east of Bégrám, between the valleys of Nijrow and Taghow; and there is again another and superior one at Tope Dara, near Chárikár, which may reason-

ably be supposed to have been constructed under the princes of Húpíán. A fourth, moreover, occurs at Korrindar, midway between Bégrám and Kâbal; but it has unfortunately happened that no one of these several monuments has yielded evidences upon which we might decide upon its origin or date.

The Kohistân of Kâbal abounds with vestiges of its ancient inhabitants; they are chiefly, if not exclusively, of a sepulchral character, but their greater or less extent with the numbers and varieties of the coins and other relics found at them, may authorize us to form an estimate of the importance of the places which we infer were situated near them. Admitting such criteria, a city of magnitude must have existed at Perwân, about eight miles, bearing north nineteen west, from Bégrám, consequently that distance nearer to the great range of Caucasus, under whose inferior hills it is in fact found. Coins are discovered there in large numbers, and there is also a cave remarkable for its dimensions; while in the hills which separate it from Sir Aulang, is a takht, or square stone monument, the sides of which are girt with decorative mouldings. The site in Perwân is called by Máhomedans Merwân, and by Hindús Milwân.

At Korahtás, east of the famed hill and zíárat Régh Rawân, and on the opposite side of the river to Bégrám, from which it is distant about six miles, bearing north forty-eight east, coins are nume-

rously found, and we have the usual tokens of mounds, fragments of pottery, &c., with remains of works in masonry about the hills, which bearing now the appellation of Killa Káfr, are in truth sepulchral repositories.

At the hill of Régh Rawân (flowing sand), remarkable for the bed of sand lying upon its southern face, which gives it both its name and singular appearance, is a subterranean cave, which has a descent by hewn, or artificial stairs, and may therefore be supposed to mean something more than the ordinary rock cave. It has never been duly explored, and there might be danger in the attempt to descend into it. The Máhomedans have made it a zíárat, and have an idea that it is the spot whence their expected Imâm Médí will issue upon earth; and they believe that on roz Júma, or sacred Friday, the sounds of nagáras, or drums, may be heard in it. It may be observed, that the Máhomedan shrines, or by far the greater part of them throughout these countries, were originally those of the former idolatrous inhabitants, whose conversion to Islám was doubtless facilitated by the policy which dictated the conservation of their sacred localities, so dear to them from past associations and custom. A compromise was made between them and their converters, similar to that between the Prophet and his Arabs, by which the adored black stone of the latter became the kába of the faith propagated by the former.

In the valley of Panjshír are considerable vestiges, at three distinct localities; one near the castle of Saifúla in Dara Ferhâj; another in Dara Bazárak, near the castle of Zamrúd Khân. It has before been casually remarked, that there is in Panjshír a place of peculiar religious repute, called by the Hindús Sál-grám, although, from the lawless habits of the natives of Panjshír, they seldom venture to visit it. The Hindús also consider the word Panjshír (the five lions) as referring to the five sons of Pandú. The valley is even now populous and fertile, and in former times, when these countries were held in due and firm control, must have been of consequence, as affording a facile communication with Bádakshân. It had, moreover, a distinct and intrinsic value in its silver mines, which were worked in remote times, as we are told by Abulfeda. There is reason to believe that this metal, in common with many others, abounds in the secondary hills of the Caucasus. The inhabitants of Panjshír, esteemed by their neighbours, and so calling themselves, Tâjiks, while they speak Persian, also understand the Pashai language.

In Nijrow, as in other valleys of this country, are abundance of mounds and caves. While I was at Kâbal chance brought to light a large collection of caves which had formerly been concealed under earth. Some of them were described as curious, and their discovery was a subject of wonder for the day to the inhabitants. North-

east of this valley are a few villages belonging to families still retaining the name of Pashai. The natives of Nijrow, esteemed Tâjiks, and conversing with strangers in Persian, generally discourse in Pashai with each other.

The large valley of Taghow has many vestiges of its ancient inhabitants, and large parcels of coins have been found among them. It is now held by the Sáfí, reputed an Afghân tribe; but one of its most considerable daras, or minor valleys, is named Pashíân. The tope of Alisai, between Nijrow and Taghow, has been before alluded to.

In the valley of Ghorband, separated from Koh Dáman to the west by a high hill range stretching from the Hindú Kosh, are many and important remains of ancient times. This valley has a direction towards Bámíân, the Hazára districts of the Shékh Alí tribe, and of Shibr intervening. At a spot called Nílâb are the ruins of an ancient fortress on the river, which even during the last few years have been rendered more palpably ruins by Dost Máhomed Khân, who employed elephants in the work of destruction; fearful that his nephew, Habíb Ulah Khân, whose authority he had contributed to overthrow at Kâbal, might have fled to it, and have renewed its defences. At Fúlojird, and Ferinjâl are remarkable caves; the latter of which Wilford had heard of, and with reference to Hindú traditions was willing to consider the cave of Pramathas, or Prometheus.

In Ghorband is a celebrated Hindú ziárat, which they call Ghárúk Tabbí, the equivalent of Bábá Adam, which merits notice, remembering Wilford's notions that Bámíán was the Mosaical Eden,—not that I believe it was, but as showing how that singular, but always talented, man's inquiries were directed.

CHAPTER VIII.

M. Honigberger. — His antiquarian operations. — Dr. Gerard. — Adventures of M. Honigberger. — Departure for Jelálabád. — Id Gâh. — Incivility. — Bhút Khâk. — Defile of Sokhta Chanár. — Ghiljí guide. — Séh Bábá. — Bárík-âb. — Taghow. — Sang Toda Baber Pádshâh. — Jigdillik. — Kotal Jigdillik. — Súrkh Pùl. — Old acquaintance. — Khalíl Khân's story. — Samúches. — Troublesome night. — Khalíl Khân's death. — Gandamak. — Nimla. — Bálla Bâgh. — Tátang. — Ascent of Síáh Koh. — Caves. — Kajarí. — Goraichí. — Killa Kâfr. — Cascades. — Extensive view. — Shrine of Lot. — Large graves. — Shrine of Lamech. — Opinions of the people. — Scriptural names. — The Pâlí. — Scriptural and classical testimony. — Pâlí conquests. — Early civilization. — Diffusion of their sciences and language. — Judicial astrology. — Universality of Pâlí language. — Names of localities. — Shrines.

On my return to Kâbal from my first excursion to Bégrám I had the pleasure to meet M. Martine Honigberger, from Lahore, who proposed, *viá* Bokhára, to regain his native country. My visits to this gentleman caused me to see frequently the Nawâb Jabár Khân, with whom he resided; and that nobleman issued a standing order that he should be informed whenever I came, and made it a point to favour us with his company. With M. Honigberger I made a trip to Shakr Dara, with the view of ascending the high hill Hous Khâst,

but the season being too early we failed to do so, and I nearly perished in the attempt. M. Honigberger subsequently examined several of the topes near Kâbal, and then proceeded to Jelálabád, under the Nawâb's protection, where he instituted a series of operations on the Darúnta group; and had not his apprehensions been excited by certain rumours as to the intentions of Nawâb Máhomed Zemân Khân, and Sirdár Súltân Máhomed Khân of Peshâwer, then a guest of the Nawâb, it is possible little would have remained for my ultimate examination. As it was, he precipitately retired to Kâbal. His labours have had the advantage of having been made known to the European world by the late regretted Eugene Jacquet. At the close of autumn our European society was augmented by the arrival of Dr. Gerard, the companion of Lieutenant Burnes, and a few days after his departure for Lúdiána M. Honigberger set out with a kâfila for Bokhára.

At Ak Robát, a march beyond Bámiân, he was maltreated and plundered. Dost Máhomed Khân, I fear, was not innocent in this matter; nor does it extenuate his guilt that he was led to sanction the injury offered to M. Honigberger by the representations of the profligate Abdúl Samad. Níáz Máhomed, the governor of Bámiân, was a creature of the latter; and the chief of Kâbal while he furnished M. Honigberger with letters directing every attention to be paid to him, placed his seal

on the wrong side of the paper, by which it was understood that the reverse of what was written was to be done by those to whom they were addressed. Private instructions of course did the rest; and it would appear that M. Honigberger very narrowly escaped being put to death. Abdúl Samad complained that he had met with ill-treatment at the hands of the French officers in the Panjâb. Subsequently the Nawâb Jabár Khân purchased from Níáz Máhomed some, or all, of the articles plundered, and sent them to M. Allard at Lahore, for transmission to M. Honigberger. The affair created a great expression of disgust at Kâbal, indeed Dost Máhomed Khân, in removing Níáz Máhomed from the government of Bámíân soon after, made his criminal conduct the plea for his disgrace. The nawâb was anxious that I should reside with him when M. Honigberger left, but I declined, as I was doing very well where I was, and purposed to repair to Jelálabád for the winter.

I was about to start, when the nawâb entreated me to defer my departure for a few days, and accompany him. As I did not consent, the good-natured nobleman sent me a message to the effect that he would come to my house in the Bálla Hissár, and have me locked up. I could not divine the meaning of his solicitude, but nevertheless determined upon proceeding, when, finding I was not to be diverted from my purpose, he made me promise that I would go to his castle at Tátang, and not

quit it until he came. So much arranged, he directed a Ghiljí, Gúl Máhomed, to be ready to accompany me, and instructed me, at the first stage of Bhút Khâk, to pass the night at his castle.

I left Kâbal with my own servants; the Ghiljí guide, and a mírza who had agreed to become one of our party, being to join us at the nawâb's castle at Bhút Khâk. I had not seen the castle, and had been misdirected, or had misunderstood the directions given to me, and made for Killa Mosan, under the ridge bounding the plain of Kâbal to the south. In route from the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid we passed the eminence and zíárat of Síáh Sang to your left, overlooking the Id Gâh, or space where the annual and public festivals are celebrated, and where, in expeditions to the east, the pésh-khâna, or advanced tents of the chiefs, are pitched preparatory to the assembly of the army, and to marching. In the short distance between this spot and the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid, about half a mile, the unfortunate Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh would appear to have been assassinated.

Crossing the small rise, called Kotal Yek Langar, with the ruinous castle of Killa Gúrjí on its crest, we descended into the plain of Kamarí, a village of that name being to our right, and to our left another, called Killa Ahmed Khân. At this point also the road is intersected by the canal Júí Khwoja, derived from the Loghar river, which at some distance farther we crossed by a dilapidated

bridge of brick-work and masonry, the village of Bégrám lying immediately to our right. A little beyond the river we struck across the plain towards Killa Mosan, believing it to be the nawâb's castle. We found our error; but its Afghân occupants were very willing we should have passed the night with them. We declined their proffered civivility with thanks, and made across the plain in a northerly direction for the nawâb's castle. Midway we passed Bhút Khâk, a large enclosed agricultural village, desolate in appearance, but memorable in the traditions of the country as the place where Súltân Máhmúd broke up the idols of Samnâth, whence its name. On arrival at the nawâb's castle I was surprised to meet with an uncivil reception. I inquired for Múkhtahár Khân, the intendant, to whom the duty of receiving us fell, and the fellow did not deign to notice me. I accordingly turned to the right-about, and retrograded to Bhút Khâk, where I passed the night in the samúches, or caves, which are, indeed, usual halting-places for kâfilas and travellers. Bhút Khâk is the station of a karijghír, or collector of duties, and has a fine rivulet to the east. The samúches in which we lodged have their corresponding small tumuli, proving the character of the spot. The village is the last occurring on the plains of Kâbal to the east, and beyond it commences the hilly country, extending to Jelálabád. In a line to the south of it terminates the ridge of Shâkh Baranta, around

whose extremity leads the high road to Khúrd Kâbal, or little Kâbal, and Tézín.

Early in the morning I despatched one of my people to the nawâb's castle to ascertain whether the mírza had arrived. He met him coming to me, with a host of the nawâb's people, sent from Kâbal by their master to do me honour. They were much chagrined at the untoward reception I experienced from Múkhtahár Khân, and said they were at a loss what report to make to their master. I found afterwards that the man's incivility cost him his employment, and I had the task of interceding for his pardon and reinstatement. The Ghiljí guide did not, however, make his appearance, and deciding to move on without him, we debated as to what road should be followed, and that of Sokhta Chanár was fixed upon. Accordingly, we crossed the rivulet of Bhút Khâk, and traversing an uneven undulating tract, entered the hills on our right. At their entrance was a small valley, with the remains of a castle, a little cultivated land, and a clear rivulet. From it the road led through a continued defile, and we were embarrassed by ice and frozen snow, particularly during the first part of our progress, when a rivulet accompanied us. On reaching a spot with a few samúches we halted, and were joined by the Ghiljí, commissioned by the nawâb to attend us, who proved to be the same person who had escorted Dr. Gerard and his party. We now moved forwards with

greater confidence; indeed we had not prudently left Bhút Khâk without our guide, but fortune had befriended us. On entering the hills I observed my companion, the mírza, turn pale, and he did not then tell me what was the matter. He had noticed a party of robbers sitting on the hills above us, over a fire. They did not descend, as we were armed and mounted; but we learned, subsequently, that they intercepted some pedestrians, and drivers of asses, in our rear. I did not see these men.

As we approached the vicinity of Tézín the rocks were remarkably contorted, and throughout the defiles were many indications of copper, a metal more or less abundant in the hills of this part of the country. We at length came into a valley, through which flows the rivulet from Tézín, now on our right, where we found a few camels laden with chaff, and the proprietors, Chúli Zai Afghâns, being willing to supply our cattle, we determined to halt with them for the night, the rocks being disposed so as to exclude the wind, at this season justly dreaded. The early part of the night passed mildly, but afterwards, as we heard the shrill whistling of the breeze, we congratulated ourselves on being sheltered from its violence.

By sunrise we were on the move, and passed down the valley, spacious and open, but the surface broken and stony, in many places sprinkled with low trees and shrubs, until we reached the ziárat of Séh Bábá, or the three fathers, the shrine of

all the robbers of the country, who make this spot a favourite resort, and perform pilgrimage, and plunder travellers at the same time. It is conveniently located for the exercise of their calling; three of the roads from Kâbal, those of Tézín, Sokhta Chanár, and Lattaband, meet at it. The zíárat is a grave in an enclosure of loose stones, distinguished by a large tree bedizened with rags and shreds. We here turned to our right, the road leading over a jumble of sandstone hills, inducing a variety of ascents and descents before we reached the narrow lengthened valley of Bárík-âb, so called from a slender rivulet which flows down it.

On the heights were the remains of an old Chaghatai castle, and a recent one, built by Amír Máhomed Khân, for the protection of the road. There are also several samúches, now used by the traveller, but which, from the many tumuli apparent, were originally constructed with a different object. From Bárík-âb we continued our progress over the same elevated and diversified country, and enjoyed from the rounded summits of the hills a fine view of the open valley of Taghow, about twenty-five miles distant, and of the intervening depressed hilly space, through which flow the rivers of the Kohistân and of Kâbal. The valley of Taghow appeared studded with castles and gardens, denoted by the dense dark masses speckling its surface, and has evidently a marked slope from the north to the south. We also advantageously beheld the lofty range dividing

Taghow from the more easternly districts of Lúghmân and Nadjíl, with its acute pyramidical peaks, and north of it the snowy summits of Koh Koband, which intervenes between Panjshír and the mountainous seats of the Síáposh Kâfrs. Descending into the spacious stony valley of Kattar Sang, we met a strong kâfila from Pesháwer, and coming to a rivulet we halted, and made our breakfast. Leaving the valley, we again crossed an uneven tract, but with greater extent of level surface. A heap of stones was pointed out as the Sang Toda Baber Pádshâh, and is believed to have been raised by the soldiers of Baber's army, each soldier, agreeably to the emperor's orders, contributing a stone. A little beyond it are the walls of a small square building, near which two or three fellows were skulking. We rode up to it to see that no robbers were lurking within it, and farther on reached the summit of a hill, on which were the ruinous walls of two Chaghatai castles, and below us the dara, or valley of Jigdillik, with a good rivulet, and the remains of a garden planted by Taimúr Shâh, in which his unfortunate son, Shâh Zemân, was deprived of sight, when delivered by Malek Ashak to Assad Khân, brother of the Vazír Fatí Khân. We passed the night in some samúches, of which there are several, with a number of tumuli on either side of the valley. Higher up in it are again others; and besides a few scanty groves of mulberry-trees, on an eminence, is the village of Jigdillik, now deserted, having been

but a short time since given over to plunder by Máhomed Akbar Khân. The inhabitants, Afghâns, had dispersed, until they should be invited to resume their seats. We with difficulty procured necessaries, and Gúl Máhomed had to scour the country in quest of them. Jigdillik, from the misfortune of Shâh Zemân, had acquired a local celebrity, which has now become more general, and wofully enhanced to us, since its cheerless and desolate glens have witnessed the destruction of the wrecks of our ill-fated Kâbal force.

From Jigdillik we ascended a dara, gradually contracting until we came to the foot of a slight kotal, called the Kotal of Jigdillik. On its crest were the remains of a Chaghatai castle, and but for the hazy weather we should have had a magnificent view of the low country of Jelálabád beneath us. This kotal is now, and has probably always been, the limit of the Kâbal and Jelálabád jurisdictions; and on that account, and with reference to the habits of the neighbouring tribes, it was anciently deemed a position worthy of being protected, as is manifest by the remains of its castles, more than usually extensive. Baber was here opposed in one of his expeditions, and it is possible that to the establishment, by his orders, of a line of posts and stations between Kâbal and Atak, the castle, whose remains we see, was owing, as well as many of the other fortresses, known at the present day as Chaghatai killas, however his successors may have improved and added to them.

The descent was continual, without being precipitous, and the snow diminished every step we advanced, until at last we left it fairly behind us. On arrival at a locality called Lokhí, where to the right is a rivulet in a bed overspread with reeds, our guide asked permission to visit Hissárak, a little right of the road, where he said his family resided. It was granted, as he promised to join us at Súrkh Púl. We did not suspect he had other motives until we reached that place, so called from a bridge built by Alí Mirdân Khân over the Súrkh Rúd, or red river, which crosses the road, and glides into the valley of Kangkarrak. It seemed that our friend had some altercation with the karijghírs, or toll-collectors, when attending Dr. Gerard and his party. Anticipating that we should encounter similar difficulties, he had wisely put himself out of the way, and left us to arrange matters ourselves. We passed the bridge and made a short halt. I went to see a Persian inscription on a rock, recording its foundation, when one of the collectors came to me and asked if I was the owner of the horses. I replied "Yes;" when he said, "Take them before the khân," pointing to a person wrapped in a postín and sitting within a circle of stones, by the side of the road. I shook my head; and he then said, "Go, and have a little iktalát, or conversation with the khân." I again shook my head, for I could not conceive who the khân could be in such a place. The mírza, who had joined, expressed his intention of waiting upon

Khalíl Khân. On hearing the name, I asked what Khalíl Khân it was, and was told, Khalíl Khân of Bisút. "Oh, then," I exclaimed, "I will go myself." I had soon the satisfaction of shaking hands with an old friend, whose civilities to me in my first visit to these countries I have before recorded. I could not refuse to pass the evening with him; and men were despatched to Tútú, two cosses distant, for a sheep, barley, and chaff, while cakes, cheese, and honey were immediately placed before us. We talked over the events which had befallen us since we first met, and the khân gave a strange account of his disasters. He said he was overwhelmed with debts, and that his fine castles in Bísút were mortgaged. He was farther embarrassed in his accounts with the Nawâb Máhomed Zemân Khân, from whom he farmed the transit-duties of Jelálabád, and who occasionally resumed them, but finding no person collect them so well, was compelled to transfer them again to him, notwithstanding the liberty he took in withholding the receipts. He told me, that he did not care a fig for the nawâb, that he had married two or three daughters of the Ghiljís in the neighbourhood, and was in rebellion whenever money was demanded from him. I congratulated him in being, in one respect, in so thriving a way. An elderly staid gentleman coming towards us, the khân observed, that the scoundrel was one of his creditors, who gathered up the monies as he collected them from kâfilas.

Tea being brought for me, the khân complained of headache, and referred it to the beverage, of which he drank two cups; I rather suspected the evil was owing to his sitting the whole day in the sun, which, however, he said, was his custom. Some of his young men brought in some partridges, which were grilled, and served to us, and, it being evening, we retired to samúches, excavated by the khân himself, and in which he resided, or rather passed his nights. He was very proud of them, as being memorials which would confer immortality upon him, and showed me a substance which he had found in course of the work, which cut glass, and which he fancied to be a diamond. The samúches were oppressively hot, and I certainly should have preferred the open air. After an excellent supper, the mírza produced a book, the Khalíl wa Damnah, and recited, to the great apparent satisfaction of the khân and himself, for the rest of the evening. I sat until I could not keep my eyes longer open, and went to repose on a chahárpâhí, at the extremity of the samúch. It was in vain that I courted sleep, which, if the heat of the apartment would have permitted, the asthmatic cough of the old gentleman creditor prevented. I had not expected another cause of interruption, offered by Khalíl Khân himself, who throughout the night kept up an incessant series of shouts, groans, and sighs, intermixed with ejaculations of Sokhtam! sokhtam! I burn! I burn! and Oh! Khodâ! Oh!

Khodâ! toba! toba! hazár toba! Oh God! oh God! repentance! repentance! a thousand times repentance! I was alarmed, but observed that no one took any notice; and the old gentleman, whose cough made him pace the samúch a good part of the night, passed and repassed the chahárpâhí, on which the poor khân was extended, perfectly indifferent to his torments; wherefore I concluded the exhibition was an ordinary one. I went through a singular night, and heartily rejoiced at the break of day, which enabled me to quit the samúch. The old gentleman requested a remedy for dil-dard, and professed to be eased by a decoction of cloves. Khalil Khân complained of fever. A few days after the unhappy man died; and his corpse was carried past Tátang, where I was staying, in its way to Bísút for interment. Some time after I met the old creditor at Jelálabád, and observing "So poor Khalil Khân is gone," asked of what disorder he died, and was told that Házrat Alí had slain him, weary of having his name profaned, and of hearing the perjuries he uttered.

Having breakfasted, we bade farewell to the Khân, and passed over an uneven country, the road tolerably good, until we came to a rivulet, which we crossed, and ascending a short but abrupt kotal, found ourselves on the table-land of Gandamak. Afar off we had descried a horse standing on the summit, which we rightly conjectured to be that of the Ghiljí guide. We ral-

lied him on leaving us at the mercy of the karijghírs. We halted at Gandamak, although we had only marched three cosses, as we could command supplies and good accommodation. The village, once enclosed within walls, does not contain above forty or fifty houses, but has some half-dozen Hindú shopkeepers, and it is famed for its fine mulberries. South of the village is a royal garden, all but destroyed. There are two or three castles adjacent, one called Killa Gandamak, another belongs to Meherdád Khân, Popal Zai, and anciently Harkára Báshí. There is also much cultivated land, water being plentiful. The inhabitants are of the Kohgâní tribe, that formerly possessed the country to the west, held by the Jabár Khêl Ghiljís, who expelled them. They now occupy in this vicinity, besides Gandamak, the villages Tútú Kajar, Nimla, Fatiabád, &c. They claim to be related to the Ghiljís, who do not acknowledge the affinity, and apparently with reason. Gandamak, from its elevated site, has a climate cool in comparison with that of the lower plains of Jelálabád, and the people, in common with those of the districts of the contiguous Saféd Koh, tend silkworms.

From Gandamak we came to the villages of Háshem Khêl and Belâl Khêl, with the Naiân rivulet, over which is a ruinous bridge of two arches, picturesque in decay. To our right were the villages and castles of Nokar Khêl, and above them,

at the skirts of the Saféd Koh, the villages of Múrkhí Khêl, Zoar, &c. In place of following the high road, which leads to Nimla, we took one to our left, over the table space of Bâmak, from which we had an admirable view of the valley, village, and royal garden of Nimla. This village is a small one of eighty houses, but the garden appears very advantageously with its tall cypress-trees. It is famed for narcissuses, posies of which are sent as presents to Kabâl. The unopened buds are selected for transport, and they expand on being placed in water. From the table space of Bâmak we desended into the valley of the Súrkh Rúd river, at a point called Kangkarrak, where is a small collection of ancient caves. We halted there, and breakfasted. We now observed many plants of warm climates, strangers to Kâbal, and the milky âk-bush became abundant. We traced the southern skirts of the narrow valley, passing many hamlets, small castles, and much cultivation, and finally came to Bálla Bâgh, a small walled-in town, seated on the very bank of the river, on the opposite side of which is the site of the city of Adinapúr, flourishing in the time of Baber.

About a mile west of the town is a garden, the Chahár Bâgh, planted by that prince, and which he calls Bâgh-i-Wafa. He vaunts the strong position of the fortress of Adínapúr, which I could never detect, unless a mass of ruins on an eminence, near some triangular entranced caves, denote

it, and if so, however extensive, it would appear to have been very loosely constructed. Bálla Bâgh is a commercial little town, and Hindús in great numbers reside at it. The revenue is enjoyed by Máhomed Osmân Khân, son of the late Nawâb Samad Khân, who was expelled from Kohât by Pír Máhomed Khân, of Pesháwer. Two or three hundred men were employed in widening the trench, it being said that Dost Máhomed Khân was expected. We were now gratified by the sight of luxuriant fields of sugar-cane. A little beyond Bálla Bâgh we crossed the Súrkh Rúd, a rapid stream, and with water to our horses' girths. Passing a variety of hamlets and fortlets, with the village of Kotípúr, we arrived at the nawâb Jabár Khân's seignorial castle of Tátang, where we were received with all honour by his intendant Abdúlah, and presently installed in apartments over the principal gateway, whence we commanded a noble view of the valley of Jelálabád and the country to the east. This castle was built by the nawâb when governor of the Ghiljís of Kâbal, and when he could call forth the labourers of the country at discretion. He fixed upon a waste, neglected spot, therefore called Tátang, which in Pashtâní implies desolate, and to reclaim it directed his attention. The site had been anciently occupied by a castle called Killa Rájpútân, or the castle of the Rájpúts, and was connected by tradition with the period of Rájpút sway in these countries. Two or three substantial towers

CASTLE OF TATANG.

were yet existing, and the nawâb has often assured me it employed more labour to remove them than was required to raise the new castle. A superior castle, with very lofty walls and towers, has been erected. To the east, or front, is a large public garden, with handsome summer-house and baths for the accommodation of guests, and adjoining the southern front of the building is another private garden. Both are stocked with flowers, and at this time displayed large expanses of red and white tuberoses. In the evening the fragrance of the atmosphere was delightful. The trees in these gardens, as over the estate, are but young, although some of the cypresses have attained a moderate

height. About eighteen kolbahs of land appertain to the nawâb, who has purchased the whole of it, but at very low prices. There was formerly no water, or little in the neighbourhood, a deficiency which the nawâb has obviated by bringing a canal from the Súrkh Rúd, opposite Bálla Bâgh, along the skirts of the hills, at the foot of which Tátang lies. Within the castle there is a spacious residence for his family, provided with all due appendages, as baths, &c., and about thirty-five houses, for his tenants and agriculturists. The estate is now in pretty good order, and in course of time will be a magnificent one, as additions are every year made to it, by purchases of the adjoining lands. The nawâb takes great pride in it, and is never so happy as when walking over his grounds, planting trees, widening canals, or feasting upon the beauties of his flower-gardens. A doubtful politician and statesman, his skill as a husbandman is denied by no one.

I fulfilled my promise to the nawâb of not wandering far from his castle, yet I did not neglect the immediate environs, which to me had at least the charm of novelty to recommend them. One of my first excursions was to the summit of the range overshadowing us, and which, extending from Jigdillik to Darúnta, separates the valleys of Ningrahár and Lúghmân. It is called Kândaghar by Afghâns, Bâgh Atak by Tâjiks, and Koh Bolan by the people of Lúghmân. It is also frequently

called Síáh Koh, or the black hill, in contra-distinction to the magnificent range of the Saféd Koh, or white hill, on the opposite, or southern line of the valley. From Tátang a glen, called Kajarí, in a north-west direction, extends to the main body of the range, and early one morning I started to proceed up it and gain the crest of the hills, attended by one of my servants and an Afghân guide, Ferdúsí. At the opening of the glen upon the plain round conglomerate hills occur on either side, composed of boulders of moderate dimensions, combined by a calcareous cement. This species of rock is very liable to delapse, and huge fragments, fallen from above, strew the narrow valley. From the same reason, towards the summits, many of them have a scarped perpendicular line of many feet in depth, which has caused their selection for the excavation of samúches. Here are many of those ascetical residences; and the hills abound with vestiges of walls, ramparts, and pottery-ware, indicative of the former character of the locality. As we ascend up the glen we tread upon a series of stratified and schistose rocks, at first barely peering above the surface, but gradually rising in altitude. Amongst these we observed some of the impressions, common enough in these regions, apparently of the hoof of an animal. Here, as well as everywhere else, I have seen them; they are found in a certain kind of black stone. Three hundred yards from its commencement the glen contracts,

and a short tanghí, or defile, is passed, where is a very beautiful object in an excavated arched recess, made in ancient times for the sake of obtaining zâkh, or the sub-acetate of iron, which completely pervades the rock. The people at present employ it to strike a black dye on cloths previously saturated in a decoction of pomegranate rind. The spot is particularly picturesque, from the nature of the stratified rocks, and the variously tinged yellow and green hues caused by the presence of the zâkh. It is a fairy scene, and the grot of Oberon could not be more fanciful or fantastic. Beyond it the glen expands, and the enclosing hills to the west are again provided with caves. Here is also a warm spring, and a clump of productive date-trees, which give a name to the glen, which throws off a branch to the west, leading to Márnú, a spot inhabited by Afghán pastoral families. At this point is a small, but deep dand, or pool of water, its borders fringed with that species of reeds from which the kalams, or pens of the country, are fashioned. We traced the northern branch of the glen, being anxious to see some remains we had heard of, the first said to be at a spot called Goraichí, a place of Hindú pilgrimage. In fact, we found scratched on the rocks a variety of rude figures, of men on elephants and horses, and of men on foot, armed with bows and arrows, of stags and lions, of hares, and other animals. It was impossible to decide whe-

ther the figures were owing to single design or were the result of casual and occasional contributions. If the former, it may have been intended to represent a battle, or hunting-scene. The figures were too rudely scratched to deserve much attention, neither could anything useful be learned from them; but, surmounting the rocks on which they are found, we presently came upon some more substantive remains, in walls and parapets of masonry, on the crest, and encircling the sides of an eminence. This locality, as all similar ones are, was called Killa Kâfr, or the infidel's fortress. A line of wall was carried round three sides of the peak; the fourth, presenting an abrupt perpendicular escarpment, rendered its continuation unnecessary. The entrance faced the west. At the eastern point were the remains of a circular tower. Beneath the superior line of wall, on the acclivities of the eminences, parapets had been raised; the intervals between them and the inclined surface of the rock were filled up with pure sifted earth. From these spots funereal jars, containing dark-coloured earth, bones, and fragments of charcoal, had been procured, establishing the fact of the sepulchral nature of the locality. The walls on the summit enclosed a variety of small apartments, the partition walls of which were entire, and which seemed to point out the residences of the various persons connected with the establishment. It could scarcely be doubted that it was the ancient burial-place of some

village on the plain. Skirting the hills to the east, I afterwards found many such places were to be found, some of them much more considerable than the one here. They occur continuously, as it were, until we reach the termination of the range, where, for the last two or three miles, is dispersed the group of the topes of Darúnta. To the westward we also discover them; the remains at the site of Adinapúr, whether or not denoting the fortress so favourably spoken of by Baber, are of the same character, and similar vestiges present themselves until we reach the caves of Kangkarrak, and even beyond them. In all instances the rational inference is, that they refer to villages formerly located, as at the present day, on the plains beneath them, and that their retired situation was selected in conformity to the custom and religion of the time; of which the ever-present cave attests, that seclusion and asceticism were prominent features. In like manner, we account for the antique evidences to be found on the skirts of the various hills of Afghânistân, all of which exhibit them, and it is only natural they should, for there were villages, of course, in all directions, as now, in the plains at their feet; and every village as naturally had its place of sepulture.

The view of the country from Killa Kâfr being extensive, I took a few bearings, and then retraced my steps, to gain the road leading to the summit of the range. It continued very fair and even for

some time, and brought us to a waterfall, of fifty or sixty feet in height. As we ascended we were gratified by the sight of a much more considerable fall, or rather succession of falls, the superior one of great height. There was little water, and it was clear that such objects, to be seen to advantage, should be visited after rains and floods. There are many of them in various parts of the range. The difficulty of our journey increased as we neared the summit, though the hill offered no impediment to our ascent beyond that presented by its inclination, and it was only after repeated halts that we attained the object of our journey; and certainly our toil was well repaid by the wide, the varied, and magnificent scenery on all sides. To the north we had under our observation the valleys of Lúghmân, with their towns, villages, castle, and cultivated lands, bounded by Koh Karinj; beyond which a jumble of hills designated the abodes of the mysterious and imperfectly known Siáposh races. To the west of the Lúghmân valley stretched a cheerless barren expanse to the ranges separating it from Taghow, and the lands of the Sáhibzáda Uzbíns. At the point where it connected with the cultivated plain, near the town of Tírgarí, a solitary dome indicated the zíárat of Métar Lám Sáhib, or the supposed grave of the patriarch Lámech. The towns, villages, and castles appeared as minute specks upon the plain, but they were specially distinguished by the venerable gaz-trees of their zíárats. We had an admi-

rable view of the rivers of Alingár and Alíshang, winding like slender rivulets in their courses, and effecting their junction at Tírgarí, and subsequently at Mandaráwar uniting with the river of Kâbal. Directing our sight to the east, we commanded a view up the valley of Khonar as far as Islámabád, where it was intercepted by the snowy range separating it from Bájor, and which confines to the east the course of the river of Kámeh, which we had also the gratification to descry in its meanders along the contracted valley. Turning round, the valley of Jelálabád and of the Kâbal river was fully developed, bounded by the hills of the Momands and Khaibaris, intervening between it and Pesháwer. To the south we had a glorious prospect of the Saféd Koh range, the limitary boundary of the valleys of Ningrahár and Bangash, and of the numerous districts at its skirts. To the west, our observation included Amân Koh, and snowy peaks in the vicinity of Kâbal; but the atmosphere was hazy in this quarter. Our admiration at the noble prospect made us think of leaving the hill with regret, but we had reached late, and after taking my observations upon the principal localities within view, I was compelled to descend. Our downward course was easy, and we regained Tátang a little after sunset.

Within a mile from Tátang, in a valley of this hill-range, is the zíárat, or shrine of Házrat Lút Paigambar, supposed to be the grave of no less

a personage than the scriptural patriarch Lot. Such an object necessarily commanded my attention, and I therefore one evening walked to it. I found one of those graves of extraordinary dimensions which abound in this country; and more sparingly are found westward, as at Kâbal, and in the Hazárajât. The grave in question was about thirty-three yards in length, and was enclosed by a wall, rudely constructed of stones. It had the usual concomitants, of poles surmounted with flags, of lamps, and a spring of water contiguous. A path leads from it to Bálla Bâgh, which, as well as the immediate vicinity of the grave, is kept carefully clean, as the inhabitants of that place, both Máhomedan and Hindú, constantly repair to it, and hold it in special reverence. Adjacent to it is a smaller grave, believed to be that of a relative of the patriarch. At the head of the grave, the assiduity of pilgrims has accumulated a rich cabinet of the mineralogical specimens of the hills, for it is usual to deposit in such localities any rare or curious natural object of the kind which may be found. They are also partially strewed over the entire surface. On this account the mineralogist should always visit the shrines in a Máhomedan country, as he will find there collected what it would cost him much trouble to acquire in their dispersed state; the naturalist will also meet with antlers and horns of extraordinary dimensions, and the antiquarian may chance to dis-

cover fragments of sculptured stones, and inscribed slabs. The numbers in which these large graves occur in the valleys of Ningrahár naturally pressed on my mind the consideration of their nature. It was unnecessary to believe, with the people of these parts, that they covered the remains of giants, which they infer Házrat Lút, and the other patriarchs, to have been; and it was obvious that their direction from north to south was strictly orthodox and Máhomedan. In most situations they are zíárats; and those which are not are still beheld reverentially, their holy character being acknowledged, while it is regretted that no revelation has disclosed to whom they relate. The more celebrated of these large graves, is that of Métar Lám Sáhíb, or the patriarch Lámech, in Lúghmân, known in Europe from its connexion with the traditionary history of Súltân Máhmúd, and by the notice Wilford has taken of it. In fixing the antiquity of these memorials we are not absolutely without guides. On the plain of Jelálabád many are found on the summits of the tumuli of the middle ages, whose epoch we are warranted to conclude from the coins and relics picked up on their surface, or elicited by excavation, to have been anterior indeed, but frequently very little so, to the Máhomedan conquests. Nothing can be more certain than that the graves, in such positions, are posterior to the tumuli on which they are formed. I therefore suppose that they are

the graves of Máhomedans who flourished in the time of the Caliphat rule, and who, falling probably in action with infidels, have been interred with extraordinary honour. I have had occasion to remark, that the shrines of the ancient superstitions of the country have, palpably, been legitimatized by the early Múslím invaders; and this fact may account for the presence of these graves in sites which, if only sepulchral, will still have had a religious and venerated character. On many of the tumuli where these monuments are found there are gaz, or tamarisk-trees, of great size, and of at least as remote an age as the graves they overshadow. To Súltân Máhmúd traditionary record imputes the reclamation of these graves, and the revelation, imparted in a dream, that the sepulchre of the patriarch Lámech was unknown and dishonoured in the country.

The inhabitants of Bálla Bâgh believe that the existence of the shrine in their environs conduces to the prosperity of the town, and those of Lúghmân ascribe the productiveness of their lands to their good fortune in possessing the shrine of the illustrious Lámech. In these degenerate days neither has any endowment: the contributions of the pious, and the offerings of pilgrims, are the sources from which their little establishments are kept up.

It may deserve notice, that many localities in Afghânistân bear scriptural names: Kâbal itself is

that of a place in Palestine, noticed by the author of the Book of Joshua, chap. xix. verses 24 to 30, when describing the allotment of the tribe of Asher. It again occurs in Kings, where Hiram, the prince of Tyre, dissatisfied with the twenty cities made over to him by Solomon, confers upon them the name of Kâbal, which Josephus explains to mean worthless, or unprofitable. In like manner we have Zoar, Shínar, Gáza, Shéva, Sidim, Tabar, Amân, Kergha—to mention only a few instances—all of which we find not only in the Scriptures, but in the earlier of them; and it is clear that they were names borne by the localities when they became first known to the Israelites, and that they were not conferred by the latter. It need not be doubted that they are Pâlí names, given by the Pâlí settlers in that region, called Pâlístân, or land of the Pâlí, the original of our Palestine; and these Pâlí are again the Philistines, (a plural term,) so long the memorable antagonists of the Hebrews. If we inquire who these Pâlí were, we learn from Genesis that they were descendants of Ham, in the line of Mizraim; and if we consult classical authorities, we are informed by Diodorus that they were one of the great Scythian families, the other being the Nápí; and we are farther told, that at a very remote time they overran all Asia, and penetrated into Europe, and the islands of the Mediterranean. Of these Pâlí conquests I am not aware that we have any other positive record,

but they are fully confirmed by vestiges left behind in all the countries they are said to have subdued. Tyre, or correctly Túr, was, as Strabo says, more anciently called Pâlí-túr: the Pâlí túr or fort; and Rome succeeded a Pâlí-tan, the Pâlí town, on the hill we call Palatine; while innumerable places throughout Italy, Greece, Sicily, and the Mediterranean isles, as well as throughout Asia, attest the presence of these ancient people. Their conquests are, moreover, of the first importance; for, connecting the evidence of Scripture with that of Diodorus, we find that subsequent to, if not consequent upon, the dispersal at Babel, the Pâlí must have spread themselves into the regions known to the ancients as Scythia, as they returned from them in their career of victory, mentioned by the historian. In their first movements towards the east they necessarily carried with them all their arts and sciences. And on this point the testimony of Scripture is most valuable, for in apprising us of their affinity with the descendants of Mizraim, it leaves no room to doubt that they were as proficient in them as were those with whom they were connected; and it is needless to advert to the early state of society and civilization in Egypt, unless to suggest that the countries into which the Pâlí spread may have been at the same time equally under similar influences; and we can but remember that in China there would always appear to have existed a civil-

ized people. At Babylon Alexander the Great was presented with a series of astronomical calculations, extending for a certain number of years, within ten of the date generally assigned to the erection of the tower of Babel. It has been suspected that one of the objects of the tower may have been to facilitate such observations, probably for the sake of the predictions deduced from them; and it is curious to find that in China and in India, from the earliest times, judicial astrology has been a favourite study, and the principal means by which a crafty hierarchy have imposed upon the deluded imaginations of the people. Would not the Pâlí have carried that science with them? Recent discoveries in India, and in Central Asia, have proved that the language of those countries at the period of the Macedonian conquests was Pâlí. Sanscrit turns out to be Pâlí; the language of Persia at the time of Darius Hystaspes, was Pâlí; Phœnician we know to be Pâlí: facts undeniable, and in unison with authority we feel all inclination to respect and venerate, while they are singular only because they disturb erroneous impressions, long current and cherished. There are many points in connexion with the Pâlí of engrossing interest, to discuss which would carry me beyond the limit prescribed for such matters in these volumes; it will be sufficient, after what has been observed, to point out that the occurrence of Pâli names, whether in Afghânistân or Palestine, is no cause

for wonder; had they not occurred there would have been. Besides Pâlí names, the Afghân countries preserve in their localities names of the several races which have successively overrun them. Hence we have Arab, Rájpút, Túrkí, Persian, as well as other appellations; and the various remarkable shrines owe, no doubt, their nomenclature to the early Máhomedans, who thereby made the existing sacred places their own.

CHAPTER IX.

Dost Máhomed Khân's designs.—Movements of Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh. — Arrival of Meher Dil Khân. — Súltân Máhomed Khân's visit to Jelálabád.—Plots.—Dost Máhomed Khân's feints. — Extortions. — Projects and counter-projects. — Designs disclosed.—Hâji Khân discarded.—March of Dost Máhomed Khân. — Mír Afzil Khân. — His ingenuity. — Submission of Máhomed Osmân Khân.—Measures of Máhomed Zemân Khân. —Assault and capture of Jelálabád.—Plunder of town.—Arrival of Nawâb Jabár Khân. — Attempt to assassinate Dost Máhomed Khân.—Fate of assassin.—Máhomed Zemân Khân's conduct.—His recent re-appearance.—Disposal of Jelálabád.—Seizure of chiefs of Khonar and Lâlpúra.—Abdúl Ghiáz Khân. —His proposed mission to India.—Dost Máhomed Khân's objections.—Secret departure.—Altercation at Dáka.—Obstinacy of companions.—Reference to Sâdat Khân.—His decision and message.—His conversation.—His fate.—Remarks thereon.—His successor in authority.—Shelmân Khúrd.—Múlla Ghori.—Robbers.—Reception at Ispind Sing.—Arrival at Peshâwer.—Confused state of affairs.—Ridiculous alarms.—Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh's treaty.—The Sikhs profit by circumstances.—Their understanding with parties.—Proposal to the sirdárs.—Advance of Síkh army.—Stand of Hâjí Khân.—Peshâwer taken.—Jocularity of Harí Singh.—Pír Máhomed Khân's valorous remark.—Abdúl Ghiáz Khân's arrangements.

I HAVE noted, that on passing Bálla Bâgh workmen were employed in strengthening the defences of the place, under a notion that Dost Máhomed Khân contemplated to visit it in his way to Jelá-

labád. I soon found that there was good ground for the apprehension, and at once understood the nawâb's solicitude, that I should go to his castle and not wander from it. When I left Kâbal I was not aware of the sirdár's intention, in fact, supposed his attention would be directed to other quarters; but I troubled myself little about politics, and did not penetrate the secrets of his councils. It was known that Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh was at Shikárpúr, that he had defeated the army of Northern Sind at Sakar, and extorted a sum of money from the confederated chiefs. All accounts concurred that he had collected an army, formidable as to numbers at least; that there was abundance in his camp, and that the road to Kândahár was open to him. His letters were circulated through all parts of Afghânistân, and there was scarcely a person of note who had not responded to them. In September, Meher Dil Khân, one of the Kândahár chiefs, arrived at Kâbal, avowedly to induce his brother, Dost Máhomed Khân, to march to Kândahár, to assist in repelling the danger with which they were menaced by the Shâh's advance. Notwithstanding, the shâh was naturally an object of dread; so imperfect was the bond of union between the several Bárak Zai brothers in power that the real purpose of Meher Dil Khân's visit was to entice his brother to Kândahár, with a view of rendering his territories accessible to invasion by the chiefs of Pesháwer and Jelálabád.

Dost Máhomed Khân, well acquainted with the intentions of his brother, received him with outward civility, but neglected to provide him with entertainment, or with expenses to defray it, thereby annoying him during his stay, and probably abridging its continuance. He engaged, however, to march to Kândahár, if satisfied that no advantage would be taken of his absence by the chiefs of Pesháwer. Sultân Máhomed Khân advanced as far as Mámá Khêl, south of Gandamak, and sent his son to Kâbal to assist at the conferences, as a proof of his desire to unite cordially with Dost Máhomed Khân in the crisis which impended over the family. Such was the proclaimed motive; but agents, in the train of his son, were commissioned to tamper with the adherents of the Kâbal chief, and, in concert with Meher Dil Khân, to arrange measures with the disaffected for his destruction. The Nawâb Jabár Khân, and Hâjí Khân, were privy to these plots, and lent them their countenance. Súltân Máhomed Khân's agents reported, that their mission had been successful; and Dost Máhomed Khân, who had alike despatched emissaries to Pesháwer on a similar errand, was flattered by their assurances that the retainers of his brothers had been corrupted. Súltân Máhomed Khân, of course, exerted all his influence with Máhomed Zemân Khân, who, however hostile to Dost Máhomed Khân, and desirous to preserve his authority at Jelálabád, was not anxious to provoke

attack; and while consenting to call in the Pesháwer chiefs, if Dost Mâhomed Khân became the aggressor, and to cede them Bishbúlák as an equivalent for their assistance, still would not personally see Súltân Máhomed Khân; and when this chief, about to return to Pesháwer, called at his house in Jelálabád, he was not admitted, and was compelled to leave without an interview. Máhomed Zemân Khân had been summoned by Dost Máhomed Khân to meet and confer with Meher Dil Dhân at Kâbal. His refusal previously to co-operate with the sirdár of Kâbal in his expedition to Taghow, had been made the pretext for the invasion of his territory, as before narrated. On this occasion he declined to place himself in the power of his suspected kinsman, but avoided the charge of contumacy by sending his son, an evasion little palatable to Dost Máhomed Khân. Before Meher Dil Khân departed from Kâbal the sirdár had stationed his pésh-khâna at Déh Mazzang, and the Kândahár chief returned, most likely pluming himself on the result of his dexterity. To provide means for the expedition, a loan of thirty thousand rupees was forced from the Shíkárpúris; a few other individuals were seized, and sums of money extorted from them, until, at length, the persons of Názir Khairúlah, and the Mírákhor Wali Máhomed were secured, the first under the protection of the Amín al Múlkh, Máhomed Réhim Khân, and the latter

in the service of the Nawâb Jabâr Khân. Thirty thousand rupees were demanded from the one, and ten thousand rupees from the other. This step was highly offensive to the two noblemen named, and the nawâb used strong language; but all that he could effect was a commutation, by which a part of the amount was given in money and the remainder in goods and chattels. The pésh-khâna was still at Déh Mazzang, when, in November, a fall of snow happened, and the soldiery became somewhat discouraged at the prospect of a march in winter, and through snow. Máhomed Akbar Khân, the sirdár's son, had been sent to Lúghmân, ostensibly to collect money for the expedition; it was alleged that the march was delayed until his return. In this stage of the business the principal kowânins, at the suggestion of Amír Máhomed Khân, requested the sirdár to defer his march to Kândahár, pointing out that, according to his repeated and constant assertions, the Shâh had no army, so there could be no immediate danger, while a march through the snow would disorganize his own force. They proposed to go to Khúram, where revenue for the last two years had not been collected. The sirdár affected to take the recommendation ill, swore that he would march to Kândahár, and acquit himsélf of his duty to his brothers, if up to his neck in snow; that all who chose might follow him, and all who chose might remain; that, for himself, he would go

if followed only by Abdúl Samad and his battalion.

The pésh-khâna was advanced to Killa Kází, and Abdúl Samad, with his battalion, directed to join it. The first fall of snow, after an interval of severely cold weather, had been followed by a second, and the prospects of the troops became daily more discouraging. In this conjuncture the sirdár convened his kowânín, and prefacing that they might thank the Amín al Múlkh, and others, for their dilatoriness in complying with his demands, or he had certainly marched to Kândahár in despite of snow, declared his resolution to take their advice, and proceed to Khúram. One of his dependents, Bahâwal Khân, Bárak Zai, was despatched to examine and report upon the state of the Kotal Péhwâr. This man on his return affirmed that the kotal was impracticable, and that some of his men had lost their toes from the severity of the frost. The sirdár then ordered his pésh-khâna to be brought from Killa Kází, and to be fixed at Síáh Sang, east of Kâbal, and on the road to Jelálabád. His real purpose, which he had hitherto so industriously concealed, became apparent. It was greatly disrelished by many. The Nawâb Jabár Khân was very sore, and, ostensibly, the sirdár's brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, disapprovèd of it. The nawâb, however, declined to remonstrate, observing, that if he said march, he made his nephews enemies; if he said, do not march, from previous transactions he should be

suspected of intrigues with them; adding, with simulated humility, that he was a núkar, or servant. The arch dissembler, Amír Máhomed Khân, took a Korân in his hand, and presented himself before his brother, praying him not to march on Jelálabád, reminding him of the mutual oaths they had both taken to Máhomed Zemân Khân, and offering, if money was the object, to contribute three lákhs of rupees. The sirdár replied, that if twelve lákhs of rupees were proffered he would refuse them, and march. Dost Máhomed Khân next called Hâjí Khân to an interview, at which, besides himself and the khân, Amír Máhomed Khân, and Mírza Samí Khân were present. In a few words he informed the khân, that his evil deeds and his intentions were known and forgiven, that his person and property were respected, and that he had liberty to transport himself and his dependants wherever he pleased. Amír Máhomed Khân, before Hâjí Khân recovered from his surprise at this abrupt announcement, had taken off his turban and placed it at his feet, conjuring him not to reply. He then withdrew him from the meeting, protested that he considered him as a brother, and that if he disliked to remain in Dost Máhomed's service he should share in his own fortune. Of course, this matter had been previously arranged between the two brothers. On the 21st of December the pésh-khâna was advanced to Bhút Khâk, where the battalion joined it, and soon after Dost Máhomed Khân left the city. He

marched successively to Khúrd Kâbal, Tézín, Jigdillik, and Ishpân, in the Kohgâní district, a little west of Gandamak. Here he halted to allow the troops from Kâbal to reach, which followed in detail, as was necessary on account of the inclement season and the scarcity of provender. The sirdár came with his battalion, the Ghúlám Khâna troops, and fourteen guns. Amír Máhomed Khân, the Nawâb Jabár Khân, and Hâjí Khân were yet in Kâbal, where one of the sirdár's sons, Máhomed Akram Khân, had been appointed governor. At Ishpân, famous in Afghân history for one of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh's discomfitures, the sirdár was close upon Mámá Khêl, the place to which Súltân Máhomed Khân had advanced in the autumn. There resides Mír Afzil Khân, eldest son of Akram Khân, Popal Zai, the vazír of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, slain in the disaster at Nimla. Mír Afzil Khân, bitterly inimical to Dost Máhomed Khân, was no doubt mixed up in the intrigues carrying on against him, but his cunning made him now, as at all other times, feign afflictions in his limbs. Aware that Dost Máhomed Khân was likely to pay him a visit, and to demand money—for he is reputed to be very rich—his ingenuity had provided against such a call, by an expedient worthy of the occasion. One night, while the sirdár was yet at Kâbal, he employed men to rob his own castle. Holes were perforated in the walls, and in the morning carpets, felts, and utensils of all kinds were found scattered about.

His wife, a daughter of the Vazír Fatí Khân, immediately started for Kâbal, and related to her brother the sad misfortune, and loss of all her jewels and valuable property; reviled Máhomed Zemân Khân for his lax exercise of authority, and prayed that the sirdár would use his influence to recover her wealth. He had difficulty to appease his voluble relative, but he was too shrewd not to perceive the manœuvre put in play. He, however, forebore at this time to demand a contribution from Mír Afzil Khân, aware that his wife would be forthcoming with the piteous tale of the robbery. The manner in which Mír Afzil Khân acquired his useful lady may be told as characteristic of Fatí Khân, and also to his honour. When Akram Khân was cut down at Nimla, he recommended his family to the protection of his antagonist, saying, they might one day serve him. Fatí Khân subsequently inquired for Mír Afzil Khân, and gave him his daughter in marriage. By this alliance the son was able to preserve much of his father's property, although many lákhs of rupees were lost, being confided to Hindús, who fled to Amratsir, where they are now capitalists. Mir Afzil Khân lives secluded in a delightful locality at Mámá Khêl, where he has built castles and planted orchards and vineyards, but is supposed to be a reckless intriguer. His reputation is very bad, and very different from that of his father. He has a brother connected with Pír Máhomed Khân of Peshâwer,

alike distinguished for his intrigues, and qualities the opposite to amiable ones.

From Ishpân Dost Máhomed Khân marched to Fatíabád, between which and Bálla Bâgh a stony plain, traversed by the Kârasú river (black river), intervenes for about three miles. Here he asked Abdúl Samad, at what expense of life he would capture the latter town; who replied, with the loss of ten men. The sirdár observed, you shall presently see that I can manage these affairs better than you can. I shall order the discharge of five guns, and Máhomed Osmân Khán will come walking into camp like a dog with his tail between his legs. The guns were discharged; and their report dissipated, as the sirdár had predicted, his nephew's warlike notions. His mother appeared, a suppliant, announcing her son's allegiance, praying the town might not be attacked, and expressing his readiness to supply the camp with provisions. The lady was accompanied by a host of persons, bearers of sugar-cane, and other dainties. It was stipulated, that on the advance of the army to Chahár Bâgh of Jelálabád her son was to join the camp, and make his submission. It has previously been mentioned, that the sirdár's son, Máhomed Akbár Khân, had been despatched to Lúghmân. On the arrival of his father at Jigdillik he commenced offensive operations there, expelling the troops of Máhomed Zemân Khân from the Tâjik villages included under the rule of the Jelálabád government. About eight thousand kharwârs

of grain fell into his hands. From Tírgarí he marched to Chahár Bâgh of Lúghmân, where he awaited instructions. This expulsion of the Jelálabád chief's troops was effected without bloodshed; but they had to submit to be plundered of their horses and arms.

The Nawâb Máhomed Zemân Khân had been for some time busy in renewing the defences of Jelálabád. The dilapidated walls, originally of some width, were repaired, and on an eminence, a little south of the town, called Koh Bacha, he erected an intrenchment and placed a piece of ordnance in battery. He had summoned the íljarí, or militia of the country, and the saiyad petty chiefs of Khonar, with Sâdat Khân, the Momand chief of Lâlpúra. He could scarcely, however, have expected to withstand a siege, notwithstanding his preparations, but must have depended on the arrival of the Pesháwer army to his assistance, when, if no actual collision took place, the usual routine of intrigues and negotiations would have been carried on; and if Dost Máhomed Khân had been foiled, he for the present would have preserved his authority. A confidential agent from the Pesháwer sirdárs, Nazír Morâd Alí, was with him, urging him by resistance, to give the army time to join him, as also striving to obtain the cession of Bishbúlâk, which the nawâb, formerly promising to yield, now scrupled to make over.

When Dost Máhomed Khân reached Fatíabád the malek, or principal of the place, who, with his

íljárí quota, was at Jelálabád, informed the nawâb, and asked whether he should fight or give barley and provender, as was required. The nawâb turned to his chiefs around him, and said, "You see how silly Dostak is, to come into my country; if I did not feed his horses, they would be famished." The malek repeated his inquiry as to how he was to act. "Go," said the nawâb, "and provide barley and chaff, or his horses will die." The malek, with his men, returned to Fatíabád, and made his submission to Dost Máhomed Khân. This sirdár advanced to Chahár Bâgh of Jelálabád, where he was joined by Máhomed Osmân Khân, and his son, Máhomed Akbár Khân, from Lúghmân. He halted there one day, and on the next moved upon Jelálabád. On the same day he possessed himself of the eminence Koh Bacha, and the ziárats close to the town walls on the western side. During the night a nagam, or mine, was carried under a bastion nearly opposite, and on the following morning, the first of the month Rámazân, a day worthy of being signalized, the train was fired, and the battalion of Abdal Samad marched over the breach into the town. Parties were immediately despatched to protect the residences of the nawâb, and of those it was intended to preserve from plunder, and the rest of the town was abandoned to the mercy of the soldiery. The two mirzas of Jelálabád, Imâm Verdí and Agâ Jân, with Sádat Khân the Momand chief, were made prisoners, but two persons whom Dost Máhomed Khân

was very desirous to secure, Názir Morád Alí and Fatí Máhomed Khân, Popal Zai, and father-in-law of the Nawâb Jabár Khân, found means to escape, and reached Peshâwer. As for the Nawâb Máhomed Zemân Khân, as soon as the town was entered he seated himself, with the Korân in his hands, open at the part where Dost Máhomed Khân, two years before, had written the most horrible denunciations on himself if ever he deprived him (the nawâb) of Jelálabád. Special care was taken that no outrage was committed on the nawâb or on his family, but their dependants were rifled and denuded without scruple or remorse. The Nawâb Jabár Khân reached Tátang the day before the assault and capture of Jelálabád, at which he was not willing to be present. In the evening of that day, walking along the skirts of the hills between the castle and Bálla Bâgh, I met him with a small party. He produced, with much satisfaction, a copper coin which he had picked up somewhere on the road, and which proved to be one of Agathocles. He had left Kâbal in company with Hâjí Khân, and together they reached Bhút Khâk. The nawâb took the road of Sokhta Chanár, and the khân that of Khúrd Kâbal, whence he marched upon Bangash, and was next heard of at Peshâwer, where he was cordially received, appointed náib, and assigned a jághír of one hundred and twenty thousand rupees per annum. He had arrived to take part in the machinations concocted by the chiefs there against

their brother, Dost Máhomed Khân, whose celerity, however, had rendered them nugatory, and by the opportune acquisition of Jelálabád and the command of its resources, made him more formidable than ever. Amír Máhomed Khân arrived from Kâbal a day or two after the capture of Jelálabád, and gravely expostulated with Máhomed Zemân Khân on his rashness in firing upon Dost Máhomed Khân, who, he pretended, had no idea of interfering with Jelálabád; but was merely passing by, intending to make a demonstration against Pesháwer, and with no more serious purpose than to bring his untoward brothers there to an understanding. The territory of Jelálabád was placed under the government of Amír Máhomed Khán, and a jághír, to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees per annum, was made over to Máhomed Zemân Khân, and the quota of troops he was to entertain fixed at three hundred. The mírzas of Jelálabád were reinstated in office, and Sâdat Khân, after some days' imprisonment, was released, on condition that he should give a daughter to one of the ámír's sons. Dost Máhomed Khán encamped between the town and river, and shortly after seized the saiyad chief of Peshat in Khonar, then in his camp, and despatched Múlla Momind Khân to occupy his little domain. Many reasons were urged for the step; sufficient ones were, that he was a sworn friend to Hâjí Khân, and that his country lay in the road to Bájor.

It may here be noted, that besides depending upon the assistance of the Pesháwer sirdárs, the Nawâb Máhomed Zemân Khân had been willing, by the assassination of Dost Máhomed Khân, to have ridden himself of apprehension from him, and commissioned a desperate man in his employ to commit the deed. This man went to Kâbal where his family resided, and one night, by means of a ladder, ascended into the apartment where Dost Máhomed Khân was sleeping with one of his ladies. He relented of his fell purpose, as, he said himself afterwards, he thought it a pity to kill such a man, and carried off his shawl, trowsers, &c. as trophies of his visit, which he presented to the nawâb, and claimed his reward. The ladder was left standing, and was of course discovered in the morning. Subsequently the man came to Kâbal, resided openly in the Bálla Hissár, made no secret, or very little, of what he had done, and was unnoticed by Dost Máhomed Khân. In course of time he was shot one evening as he came from a Hindú's house, by some Rikas. His friends demanded the blood of the Rikas at the hands of Dost Máhomed Khân, who manifestly favouring them, pretended there was not evidence enough against them.

Máhomed Zemân Khân by the loss of Jelálabád was deprived of authority, which he may have prized, although not very able in its exercise, yet he did not otherwise suffer, as he preserved his wealth, supposed to be great. From that time, while con-

stantly engaged with the Nawâb Jabár Khân, and others, in the intrigues of the hour, he generally secluded himself, and by pretending sickness, or afflictions of the limbs, excused his attendance upon Dost Máhomed Khân, whom he constantly asserted it would be meritorious to slay, although to kill Ranjit Singh, an infidel, would be a crime. He seldom called Dost Máhomed Khân by any other name than Dostak, and was alike accustomed familiarly to address Máhomed Azem Khân, when living, as Azem.

In the recent events at Kâbal he would seem to have taken a conspicuous part, or, perhaps, he has been made an instrument by others for the sake of his wealth. I have understood, that in common with the seniors of the Bárak Zai family, he did not use to wait upon the shâh, but sent his son Shújá Dowlah, a youth, by whom the unfortunate prince has been eventually slain.

Immediately after the arrival of the Nawâb Jabár Khân, and the capture of Jelálabád, I directed my attention to the topes of Darúnta, and was engaged in their examination until the Nawâb Jabár Khan earnestly requested me to accompany his son, Abdúl Ghiás Khân, who it appeared was destined to be sent to India to receive an English education. I had much rather the request had not been made, yet knew not how to evade it, and consented to accompany the youth to Pesháwer at all events, and to Lahore, if necessary. I was soon informed

that Dost Máhomed Khân by no means approved of the mission of Abdúl Ghíás Khân, if on no other account, that he beheld his brother, the nawâb, with jealousy, and disliked that he should form any connexion, however faint, with the British, or any other government. On the other hand, it need not be supposed that the nawâb had any but interested political motives in forwarding his son at the present conjuncture, when the interests of the family were threatened by Shâh Sujah al Múlkh, who, it was generally believed, was supported by the British government. In his most extravagant expectations the nawâb had been encouraged by the British agent, Saiyad Karamat Alí, with whom the scheme of sending Abdúl Ghíás Khân originated. Through the medium of the saiyad also, he corresponded with the shâh, being fearful in such a matter to confide to his own mírzas. Dost Máhomed Khân would probably have detained the youth, nor have permitted him to proceed, but the nawâb delayed his departure until the time arrived when Dost Máhomed Khân was compelled, by the events transpiring at Kândahár, to return towards Kâbal, when Abdúl Ghíás Khân was sent for from Tátang, and secretly placed on a raft and floated down the river to Pesháwer, his horses and attendants being to follow him. I could not retract my promise, and in a few days started from Tátang, with a formidable cavalcade, the retinue of the young lad, for Pesháwer. The first march we made to Alí Bâghân,

six cosses east of Jelálabád, and the second took us to Bássowal. On the third we reached Dáka at the eastern termination of the Jelálabád valley. Here, on the Momands claiming the customary passage-fees, the nawâb's people talked largely, and refused to pay them. Some altercation followed, but at length it was conceded by the claimants, that as the nawâb's people were Mússulmâns as well as belonging to the nawâb, the fees should be remitted, and that I should be considered in the light of a guest, and not asked to pay anything, but that two or three Hindús of the party must pay the usual sums, as they no farther belonged to us than as being in our company. The nawâb's people refused to allow the Hindús to be taxed, and on my professing willingness to pay for the men and for myself, horses and servants, according to custom, I was entreated not to mention such a thing, as it would be derogatory to the nawâb. The Momands then offered to commute the matter by acceptance of a sheep; but this in like manner was refused; when they waxed sore, and insisted on the payment of full fees. Many of them congregrated, and but for the názir of Sádat Khân, who happened to be with them, we should all have been plundered, if not worse treated during the night. In the morning fresh debates ensued, and it was finally settled to refer the business to Sàdat Khán himself, who we found was at Shelmân, a spot in the hills. My mírza was sent as agent to our party, being per-

sonally known to the khân. On his return he reported, that Sâdat Khân, after cursing Dost Máhomed Khân and the nawâb, affirmed that he could not interfere with the claims of his úlús, or tribe, but that he remitted his own share in the fees, or one-third. The nawâb's people, I thought, were, very rightly served; but now there was another evil, for it proved they had no money to pay the fees, and after all they were compelled to draw on my funds. Sâdat Khân had sent a very civil message to me, and requested me to wear country clothes, as my mírza had told him I was clad in European costume. The next morning we marched for Shelmân, and, after passing Dáka Khúrd, commenced the ascent of a high and difficult pass. We had nearly reached the summit when a host of fire-lock men came with rapidity down the steep sides of the hill. It was Sâdat Khân and his followers. I had a few minutes' conversation with the khân, and while complaining of the losses Dost Máhomed Khân had inflicted upon him on the capture of Jelálabád, he consoled himself with the notion that if defeated by Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, his râh gúréz, or the road by which he would fly, might bring him to the Momand hills, when he would retaliate upon him and remunerate himself. Sâdat Khân was a man of very good address, and is a very respectable chief, contriving to keep a turbulent tribe in excellent order. Sâdat Khân is now a fugitive, and rebel. I know not the causes leading to a result,

which I may, however, regret, because I feel assured that nothing but ignorance and unfair treatment could have made him so. When I left Pesháwer, in 1838, he was aware of the intended restoration of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, expressed his satisfaction, and declared his readiness to aid in the views of the Indian government, and that *he did not want money.* Khân Bahâdar Khân of Khaibar, and other chiefs of the neighbourhood, said the same thing, *We want no money.* It would not surprise me if more had been required of Sâdat Khân than ought to have been, and that he has been punished to conceal the weakness and ill-judgment of others. I have heard as much from a Sadú Zai prince engaged in the transactions of that period. If unfortunate for Sâdat Khân, it is no less so for his tribe, and for those who pass through their country, for never was tribe or country kept in better order than by him. Túrabáz Khân, the nominee of the British, is a good man, and services he may have rendered deserve requital, but his supporters cannot give him ability or conduct, and both are required in the chief of a powerful úlús, and were possessed by Sâdat Khân.

The ascent of the kotal achieved, we came upon the table land of Shelmân Kelân, which we traversed throughout its extent; nor was it until evening that we reached Shelmân Khúrd, seated upon a fine rivulet, the banks fringed with oleanders, at the western base of the great Kotal of Tátara. The

inhabitants here were not disposed to be very civil, and in the night rain descended, not in showers but in floods. In the morning we commenced the ascent of the pass, exceedingly long and difficult to the cattle, from the smooth surface of the rock, over which, in many parts, the road leads. From the summit of Tátara the view is very extensive, but the hazy state of the atmosphere over the Pesháwer plain prevented it from being observed with advantage. The road now winds around the brinks of fearful precipices, and it was only a little before arriving at the village of Múlla Ghorí, still among the hills, that it improved. Hence the road, had we followed it, was good; but the nawâb's people, to avoid a village where the inhabitants have a bad character, deviated from it, with the intention of making Ispind Sang, a village on the plain of Peshávwer. We were speedily bewildered amid ravines, the passages blocked up with boulders, and, to complete our confusion, a party of ruffians, with long knives in their hands, rushed down upon us. Had we been together we should have been too formidable in number for these men to have approached us, but we were scattered, and they assailed us who were in advance. Not one of them touched me, all passing; I presume because, although unarmed, I was so well dressed that they suspected I was some more important personage than I was. They cried one to the other, looking at me, "Dár sirdár dí, préj dí;" that is a sirdár, do not touch him. Much

mischief had not been done when they observed our companions in the rear pressing forward, and a parley took place, which closed by a few rupees being given to them, when they made off. After this rencontre we cleared the hills, and descending into the plain, reached Ispind Sang. Here we occupied the hújrí; and the nawâb's people sent for supplies to the malek of the village, who replied, that had they come to him he would have received them as guests, but as they had taken up quarters at the hújrí they must find themselves. We had more rain at this place, and I was glad when the morning broke forth, that I could push on to Pesháwer. I found Abdúl Ghíás Khân lodged with his uncle, the Sirdár Súltân Máhomed Khân, but that affairs had arrived at a sad state. The Síkh army under Harí Singh was encamped at Chamkaní, three cosses from the city, and it was feared that he intended to occupy it under plea of a treaty, arranged between Ranjit Singh and Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, consequent to the departure of the latter from Lúdíána. Some affected to believe that the treaty had been concocted by the consent, and under the sanction, of the British political agent at Lúdíána. Harí Singh, avowedly, only demanded the annual tribute in horses, rice, swords, &c., which by their engagements the sirdárs were bound to give, but he was not easily satisfied, and by rejecting horses &c., as not suitable, he gained time, which was clearly his object. The sirdárs, aware of the actual

aspect of affairs, had sent their families to Minchíni, on the northern side of the Kâbal river, with their guns and other property. They remained in Pesháwer, with their horses ready to be saddled at a moment's notice, and it was somewhat ridiculous about twice or thrice every day, to see the servants running out with the saddles on their heads, and returning when they discovered that the alarm which had been given was a false one. All the doors and windows of their houses, indeed everything of wood which was portable, had been carried away; and I understood such had always been the case whenever the Síkhs had encamped near Pesháwer. By the treaty before alluded to Pesháwer had been ceded to Ranjit Singh, and no doubt Harí Singh was commissioned to look after its execution.

Everything at this particular crisis conspired to favour the designs of the Síkhs; and the plots devised by the chiefs of Pesháwer to effect the ruin of Dost Máhomed Khân immediately involved their own; and their fate affords an example of evil falling upon those who imagine it. The promptitude of their Kâbal brother in the capture of Jelálabád, had broken up the confederacy against him, and they now, in turn, began to be apprehensive lest he should attack them; and in truth they were at his mercy; but while he could easily have expelled them, and have overrun their country, he might not have been competent to have retained it

at this time. Their fears, however, induced them to apply to the Síkhs for assistance, who readily promised it on certain considerations, and Harí Singh gladly crossed the Atak river, which, if they had not played into his game, he might not have done, but would have been content to have watched the course of events in the country east of it. The arrival of Hâji Khân, also in conformity to their plans for the destruction of Dost Máhomed Khân, in which he was intended to have been a main instrument, proved seriously detrimental to the sirdárs. Disappointed in his projects as to Dost Máhomed Khân, but anxious to evince his capability in his character of náib, he proposed a variety of innovations: amongst them, to reform the army, and to dismiss all the shías, or infidels. These men, the remnants of the old Ghúlám Khâna of Pesháwer, were yet powerful, if not a very numerous body, and growing incensed at the propositions of Hâji Khân, and fearing the effects of his ascendancy, at once opened a communication with the Síkhs, as did many others, not shías, but who could not feel confidence in Hâjí Khân. The principal Hindú díwâns of the country were also in correspondence with Harí Singh; and had he not been furnished with positive orders or discretionary powers, the opportunity was so tempting that he would scarcely have been warranted, in Síkh policy, to have foregone it. After he had procured from the sirdárs beyond the ordinary complement of tribute, he sent a message to them, that the

Shâhzâda Noh Níhál Singh, the grandson of Ranjit Singh, who was with the army, desired to see the city, and it would be well that they should evacuate it, and retire to Bâgh Alí Mirdân Khân, when the shâhzâda would ride round it, and then the army would retire towards the Atak. The morning came, when Súltân Máhomed Khân, who had always his spy-glass in hand, descried the Síkh force in motion. All became panic-struck, and horses were saddled and mounted in a trice. The house was emptied as if by magic, and none remained in it but Abdúl Ghíás Khân, his party, and myself. We ascended the roof, and beheld the Síkhs moving forward in very respectable style. In the van was the young shâhzâda on an elephant, with Harí Singh and a variety of Síkh chiefs, attended by a host of cavalry. Behind them followed the battalions of M. Court, advancing in columns at a brisk pace. On reaching the gardens attached to the house we were in the first shots were fired, some Afghâns being concealed among the trees. They were soon cleared out, and the march of the force was not affected by the desultory opposition. Subsequently we heard some smart firing, and learned during the day that the Síkhs, pressing too close upon Hâjí Khân, who covered the retreat of Súltân Máhomed Khân, the khân lost patience and turned upon them. He handled them severely, and, as admitted by themselves, checked their advance until the bat-

talions came up. Khân Máhomed Khân, the brother of Hâjí Khân, was badly wounded in this skirmish, but was borne off the field. Some very splendid instances of individual bravery were exhibited by the Afghâns, and one gallant fellow cut down six of his opponents. The Síkhs, having completed the circuit of the city, encamped under the Bálla Hissár to the east; the discomfited sirdárs retired to Tâkkâl, and then to Shékhân, at the skirts of the hills. My mírza in the course of the day went to the Síkh camp, where he saw Harí Singh, who asked where I had been during the tamásha, or sport. He replied, that I had witnessed it from the roof. He then asked, jocularly, where the sirdárs had gone. The mírza said to Tâkkâl, to prepare for battle. The sirdár laughed and said, No, no; nasghér, nasghér; they have run away, they have run away; some to Kohât, some to Khaibar. I certainly was amused at the almost ridiculous manner in which the Síkhs had made themselves masters of an important and productive country, and Súltân Máhomed Khân was as much to be laughed at as to be pitied, for in place of adopting any means of defence he had sent away the better part of his troops, and prohibited the citizens and people of the country from defending the city, as they wished. Pír Máhomed Khán was accustomed to say, that he had three lákhs of rupees, and did not care who knew it; that he had reserved them for such a cri-

sis as this; that he would assemble the Gházís, and do many wonderful things. Hâjí Khân would, when such valorous speeches were made, embrace the sirdár, saying he must kiss the lips from which such words flowed. Pír Máhomed Khân, however, thought it better to keep his three lákhs of rupees, and hastened to Kohât to collect what he could from the inhabitants, previously to his departure ultimately from the country. The force with Harí Singh did not exceed nine thousand men; and had a show of serious resistance been made he would at least have been obliged to temporize; also, had the city, although an open one, been put in a condition for defence, and the system of kúcha bandí adopted, he was scarcely competent to have forced it. As it was, with a small force he possessed himself of a country which, some years before, Ranjit Singh in person, with twenty-five thousand men, did not venture to retain. True it is, that since that period the spirit of the Máhomedans had become dejected by repeated defeats, and that there was, as there universally is, treachery in the Dúrání camps and councils. Abdúl Ghiás Khân had visited the Shâhzâda Noh Nihâl Singh, and the arrangements for his departure for Lúdiána had been fixed; I therefore did not see the occasion for my accompanying him, as his forward journey would be safe and easy. His uncles of Peshâwer were very averse to his intended sojourn in India, and might possibly have taken upon them-

selves to have detained him, considering its object a political one. They reasoned, that the nawâb, his father, and not themselves, would benefit by it. They had, however, given me their hands, and pledged themselves to permit him to proceed, and their abrupt departure, at any rate, deprived them of an opportunity of violating their promises, while Abdúl Ghíás Khân became free to follow up his father's instructions.

CHAPTER X.

Departure from Peshâwer.—March to Shékhân.—Ex-sirdárs.—Their conversation.—Fatí Máhomed Khân's civility.—Encampment.—Bára river.—Popular credulity.—Departure for Minchíní.—Alarm on road.—Old monument.—Badragas.—Minchíní.—Ghiljí.—Haidar Khân.—Jâlawâns.—Fearful state of the river.—Consultation.—Passage of the river.—Ráhmatúlah's dexterity.—Shelmân.—Ghiljí's piety.—Plain of Shelmân.—Kotal.—Bahâdar's request.—Dáka Khúrd.—Good fortune.—Congratulations.—Dáka Kelân.—Lâlpúra.—Curious conversation.—Suspicions.—Precautions.—Khúrd Khaibar.—Momand's tale.—Momand's intention.—Házárnoh.—Re-appearance of Ghiljí.—Wilford's Nysa and Mount Merú.—Bássowal.—Ghiljí and his gang.—Necessity for action.—Kohistânís.—Night march.—Bátí Kot.—Súrkh Díwâr.—Chághatai castle.—Goodwill of Kohistânís.—Mirza Agá Jân.—His surmises.—My own conjectures.—Ghiljí's evil repute.—Subsequent attempts.—Renewal of researches.

Taking farewell of the nawâb's son, we started for the fugitive sirdár's camp at Shékhân, distant about ten miles from Peshâwer. The march was rather a hazardous one, as our Síkh soldiers did not dare to pass the limits of the city gardens, and the natives of the villages on our route were under arms. We, however, managed to pass safely through them, being considered devout Máhomedans

retiring from the city profaned by the presence of infidels; and ultimately crossing the Bára river, we found, under the shade of its high bank, lying covered with lúnghís, the Sirdár Súltân Máhomed Khân, with his brother, Saiyad Máhomed Khân, Hâjí Khân, and Háfízjí, the son of the late Mír Wais. They were not, probably, in their own estimation so conveniently accommodated as in their commodious dwellings at Pesháwer, but I could not forbear thinking that to such men a little adversity is useful. When they arose, Súltân Máhomed Khân alluded to no other topic than the perfidy of the Síkhs, apparently losing sight of his own misfortunes, or consoling himself by reviling the authors of them. Hâjí Khân, consistently enough, proposed a variety of stratagems by which the city might be recovered, and offered to execute many venturous deeds, aware that he should not be sanctioned. The sirdár replied to all his proposals, by expressions of horror and surprise at the unparalleled disregard of oaths evinced by Harí Singh. Poor Saiyad Máhomed Khân said not a word, and appeared careless of what had happened; Háfízjí and others, who had now arrived, seemed, by their significant looks at each other, to intimate the predicament into which they had been brought, and their wonderment as to what was to follow. After sitting some time in company with the sirdár and his circle, I repaired to the tent of one Názir Abdúl Réhim, where I was provided with quarters. Close to us

was the tent of Fatí Máhomed Khân, Popal Zai, with whom were accommodated Máhomed Osmân Khân, son of Wafadár Khân, the Sadú Zai vazír, and Háfízjí, the son of Mír Wais. Fatí Máhomed Khân, as soon as he perceived me, sent over a dish of sweetmeats and tea, and this civility he continued while I remained in camp. This was located on the Bára, at the spot where its course is intercepted by *bands*, or artificial ramparts, by which its waters are diverted into canals for the irrigation of the circumjacent plain. The water is proverbially excellent as an aliment, and as conducive to the fertility of the soil. It is believed that to its peculiar virtues a celebrated variety of rice, called in consequence the Bára rice, owes its length of grain and delicate flavour. The river has its source in the hills of Tírah, and from the benefits it confers upon the country has been from time immemorial an object of veneration; and Shékhân, or the spot where the division of its waters is effected, is held particularly sacred. The Máhomedans of the country have a belief, that if a Hindú should bathe in the stream at this particular place its waters diminish. They have therefore erected a tower on its right bank, where is constantly stationed a guard of Momands, who, besides watching over the *bands*, are enjoined to guard against the pollution of the river. Should so calamitous an event accidentally occur it is judged necessary to sacrifice a cow, when the waters, it is said, gradually increase until

they regain their usual volume. There is a grove of trees and zíárat here, where is a stone which, according to popular credence, if struck by a musket-ball discharges blood. As the Máhomedans will on no account fire at it themselves, and would hold it very profane in others to do so, the stone is likely to preserve its character, and their faith in its property to remain entire.

Súltân Máhomed Khân made it a point of honour to consider me his guest, and I was sumptuously entertained, eating my suppers by the glare of numerous torch-lights; but I felt ashamed to be feeding luxuriously in a camp where the soldiers were subsisting on parched grain; I therefore requested, after a stay of three days, to be provided with a companion for Minchíní, and the sirdár commissioned his Shéhinchí Báshí, who had business there, to attend me. We started before daybreak, and by the time it was broad daylight found ourselves on the plain, with the Khaibarí village of Jamrúd on our left hand, and to our right the village of Tákkâl, distinguished by its topes and sepulchral mounds. Here our ears were assailed by the din of the Síkh nagáras, which made us both accelerate our pace and close upon the hills. On gaining a village, called Réghí Bálla, the inhabitants were busy in removing their effects, the report having spread that the infidels were approaching. We again made for the skirts of the hills, and traced

them until we reached the large, but now deserted village of Ispind Dírí.

In our course to Minchíní we passed a monument of the olden time, a square structure, and formed rather rudely of stones. The length of each face may have been about twelve feet, and the height a little more, or about fifteen feet. Surrounding it were abundant vestiges of walls and minor mounds. With a castle, called Killa Arbâb, on our right hand, we reached the river, and crossed on a jâla, or float of inflated skins. The Shéhinchí Báshí conducted me to the tent of Náib Múlla Abdúl Kerím, who it appeared had charge of the sirdár's property, &c., at Minchíní, and he immediately sent for the malek of the village, who was directed to provide me with trustworthy badragas, or safe-conductors, to Dáka, from whom a written acknowledgment of my arrival there in security would be demanded. The malek soon brought from his village two men, Ráhmat Ulah and Bahâdar, both of Lâlpúra, and in the service of Sâdat Khân, the Momand chief. The náib arranged the amount of fees to be paid, which came to eight and a half rupees, six for my three horses, one and a half for my three men on foot, and one rupee for the ferryman's hire at Abkhâna, it having been arranged that we should pass by that route. There were many people sitting with Náib Abdúl Kerím; amongst them, on his right hand, was one Sâleh Máhomed, a Ghiljí.

Minchíní is a straggling village of about two hundred houses and huts, on the river side, and at the foot of low rocky hills. It has some eight or ten Hindú dokâns, or shops, and as many dispersed square defensive towers on slight eminences. It belongs to Sâdat Khân, and is of consequence as being the ferry by which goods and passengers are crossed, intending to traverse the Abkhâna route, also from its site being at the point where the great river of Kâbal issues upon the plain of Pesháwer.

While at Minchiní the Ghiljí whom I had seen in Náib Abdúl Kerím's tent came to me, and represented that he was of a respectable family at Maidân, west of Kâbal, and the chief of a thousand families; when the Nawâb Jabár Khân was hákam he had differences with him, which caused him to abandon his native seats; that he then retired to Kândahár, and subsequently to Pesháwer; that he was weary of wandering, and desired to return to his connexions at Maidân. He prayed me, on reaching Kâbal, to employ my good offices to reconcile him with the nawâb. I replied, that I would speak to the nawâb, but of course could promise nothing farther. On mounting to commence our journey I found that Sâleh Máhomed intended to accompany us, and I had seen him, in course of the day, sitting in a neighbouring masjít, in close communion with my Momand badragas.

We had proceeded some two or three hundred yards along the river-bank when we were stopped

by some men, who affected to believe that we were passing clandestinely, and one of my Momands returned to the village, and brought the malek, who satisfied his people. About a mile further we came to a small village of about one hundred houses, the original Minchíní, which is very picturesquely seated. Hence we crossed the hills, none of them very high, for about four cosses, and arrived at the village of Haidar Khân, of about one hundred and fifty houses, placed on an extensive plateau, or tableland, and well supplied with water in a rivulet. This we crossed and fixed ourselves for the night at a detached portion of the village, inhabited chiefly by jâlawâns, people with whom we had a little to say, as they have in charge the ferry of Abkhâna. We were here provided with everything we needed, as chahárpâhís, mats, &c.; our provisions were cheerfully cooked for us, and our treatment was in every respect civil. Our badragas negotiated for our passage across the river on the morrow; and the jâlawâns, alleging that at this season of the year no one thought of taking this road, and that their massaks, or skins, were dry, engaged to moisten them, and do their best to put us over in safety. They proposed that we should employ a certain number of swimmers in addition to the men seated on and directing the jâlas, or floats; to which we readily consented; and to remunerate them gave a sheep as offering to the pír, or saint, at Rénar, a spot near Lâlpúra, who is supposed to interest him-

self in the fate of those who travel on jâlas, provided by meet oblations they prove themselves worthy of his protection. In the morning of the next day we made a smart ascent from Haidar Khân, and a descent, equally long and difficult, brought us to the river. I was astonished at its boisterous state, and the frightful scene presented by the rocks, whirlpools, and surges, with the rapidity of the current. My Momand conductors had misgivings, and regretted that they had not taken the Tátara route. Even the jâlawâns, while affirming that they would do their best, said they could not engage for safety. I was perfectly confused, for I never expected that such obstacles were in our way, and, incompetent to judge of the degree of safety or danger, I very closely questioned the jâlawâns, who now held the threads of our destinies in their hands, and I thought from the statements of these honest fellows that they hoped to get over, and I felt inclined to trust myself and fortunes to their care. At the same time, I thought it becoming to consult my attendants, and pointing out to them that the river was more formidable than I had anticipated, while they had heard all that the jâlawâns had said, I offered, if they had doubts as to the passage, to return, as no evil had been yet done, and we were still on the safe side. They, like myself, were willing to trust to chance, and the jâlawâns prepared their float.

While the machine was being adjusted Sâleh Máhomed, who kept himself very much apart, twice

or thrice called Bahâdar aside, who as often said to me on his return, looking scornfully towards the Ghiljí, "Dár khúsh saráí dí;" That is a worthless fellow. The float was formed of eight skins; and when ready our baggage was placed thereon, above which were seated three of my servants. Four men with paddles were alike perched on it, and half a dozen swimmers accompanied. It narrowly escaped being upset on starting, and with the celerity of an arrow was borne across the river. By the great efforts of the paddlers and swimmers it was impelled upon the opposite bank, just before a spot which appeared most dangerous to me, from the tremendous whirlpools at it. Yet through these very whirlpools the emptied jâla was brought back, so fearless and accustomed thereto are the jâlawâns of Abkhâna.

My mírza, the Ghiljí, and myself, now took our seats, and as the float was not overloaded with baggage, we were passed with comparative facility, and made a point higher up than the float had before gained. I observed my people on the opposite banks raise their hands in supplication, but there was no time for reflection, as the passage was the work of an instant. Before I was landed the men asked me for inâm, or reward, which, as their expectations did not exceed one rupee, I readily promised, seeing that unasked I should have given them more. The swimmers next passed my horses, and completed the transport of the party and all belonging to it.

Ráhmatúlah, one of the Momands, would fain show his dexterity, and cross with his own massak. Twice he was carried away by the stream, once caught in the whirlpools, from which he contrived to reach the same bank he started from, and the second time again engulphed by the same obstacles; on extricating himself he was fairly borne down the river. The circumstance afforded merriment to the jâlawâns, who laughed at the notion of a man of Lâlpúra attempting to imitate the swimmers of Abkhâna.

From the river-bank we made a long, and sometimes precipitous ascent, until we reached the summit of the range, from which we descried Shelmân Kelân, the village at which we purposed to halt for the night. Our road hence was good, leading over a broken surface, until we reached the tableland of Shelmân. At its commencement was a chokí, or guard-station, where a trifling fee is exacted from passengers; we passed on, leaving our badragas to settle it. On reaching a small castle, with a few houses without the walls, we stopped until they rejoined us. Here it was decided to remain, and chahárpâhís, mats, &c., were furnished to the party, with necessaries, but at high prices. Our Ghiljí friend seated himself in the masjít, defined simply by a circle of stones, and, with his rosary in his hand, chanted many hymns. I did not at all like this man; keeping close to us, he was very reserved, and seemed to avoid all inter-

course. The elevated valley of Shelmân may be from five to six miles in length from east to west, with a breadth of about a mile and half. On the north it descends abruptly upon the river of Kâbal, and on the south a ridge of hills separates it from the Shínwârí districts. Much of its surface is cultivated, and wheat is the grain chiefly grown. Over it are dispersed some ten or twelve small hamlets, which consist of square towers, with a few houses around them. The plain is inhabited by the Shâh Mansúr Khêl, a tribe of Momands. My badragas here enjoined especial vigilance during the night, urging the proximity of the Shínwârí hills. In the morning we proceeded up the plain, and at its extremity came to a tower and chokí at the ridge of the pass, which abruptly commences. In a recess of the hills to our left at this point was a dand, or pool of water. From the chokí a comprehensive view is obtained of the valley of Jelálabád. We thought it better to dismount, as the road is very precipitous for some distance, when it improves, until a minor, but difficult, ascent is made, from which we descend upon Dáka Khúrd, or Little Dáka, a small village on the river. Here Bahâdar and Sâleh Máhomed, who were in advance, seated themselves and waited my arrival; and as the Momand did not speak Persian fluently, the Ghiljí, acting as his interpreter, intimated to me the necessity of giving ínâm, or reward, at the village we were about to gain. I turned to

Bahâdar, and objected to be questioned amongst hills, upon a point on which I had perfect free will, and told him that Dáka Kelân, or Great Dáka, was the place where such a demand would be considered. He instantly rose, and feeling the reproof, moved on, while I saw that the Ghiljí was chagrined the point had not been pressed.

Dáka Khúrd contains about eighty houses, and is pleasantly enough situated. We halted awhile, and enjoyed cool draughts of buttermilk, bowls of which were brought to us. Continuing our journey, the road skirting the rocks on the brink of the river, we at length found our progress impeded by the river, which had overflown and inundated the path. There was still a track practicable to men on foot over the rocks above us, but it was necessary, unless we returned and followed some other road, to carry our luggage on men's backs, and to swim our horses against the current for a considerable distance. As our experience and good-fortune at Abkhâna had made us bold in aquatic affairs, all this was done, and our horses were brought round in safety to the village called Dáka Kelân. The inhabitants congratulated us on our arrival, and averred that there must be some holía, or sacred personage, of our party, for they had never known the Abkhâna passage to be attempted at this season, though their beards had grown white, and they had never dreamed that horses could have been swam against the current, as they had now wit-

nessed. They informed us that we ought to have taken a road which led by a zíárat. We were, indeed, aware of another road, which, besides being rather circuitous, winds under the kotal of Lohágí, and comes out at the extremity of the Dara Hâft Chah, or valley of seven wells, of Khaibar. From Shelmân to Dáka Kelân the distance may have been about seven or eight miles. We made for a grove of mulberry-trees near the river, which was very full, with several islands in it. There are too or three small hamlets at Dáka Kelân, at the principal of which Sâdat Khân, to whom it belongs, has built a serai for the accommodation of kâfilas. There are several Hindú traders located, as the place is a constant stage to kâfilas and passengers travelling between Pesháwer and Jelálabád, from its site, at the entrance to the hills; and it also stands at the head of the roads both of Khaibar and Abkhâna. On the opposite bank of the river is Lâlpúra, a town of about eight hundred houses, the little capital of the Momands, and where resides their chief, Sâdat Khân. Ferry-boats ply between the two places.

While we were resting under the shade of the mulberry-trees four men, Afghâns, came, and seating themselves, set to work in making chapplís, or rude sandals, as is the custom of the mountaineers in these regions, of the beaten stems of a plant, the físh, a species of aloe. Very close

to me, I could but hear every word they said; and presuming, I conclude, that I could not comprehend Pashto, they talked very loudly and freely. I was not much gratified to discover that plunder was the object they had in view, and that their sandals were being made to enable them to follow me up. It was also edifying to hear the rogues chuckle over their contemplated booty, and to witness how they laughed, and fancied themselves in possession of the ducats which, they said, I had round my waist. One thing was fortunate, that I overheard them, and became aware of the danger to which I was exposed. I neither did nor said anything by which the fellows could imagine I was cognizant of their intentions, but allowed them to complete their sandals and depart in peace. I then inquired where Sâleh Máhomed was, and was told he had not been seen since leaving Dáka Khúrd. I suspected this man intended to play me a trick; and in the neighbourhood of the Shínwâris, he could, unluckily for me, experience no difficulty in finding fit associates.

In the morning, on arrival here, I had heard that a strong party of Kohistânís had reached from Peshâwer by the Tátara route, on their way to Kâbal. In the service of Súltân Máhomed Khân, they were returning to their homes, on the breaking up of his authority. I sent to the village to ascertain if these men were still there.

They had left it on their journey. I then ordered our cattle to be laden, and horses saddled. I called the Momands, and, making them a present which quite pleased them, expressed my wish that they should accompany us as far as Hazár Noh, midway between Dáka and Bássowal, at which place I purposed to pass the night. To this they cheerfully assented. Between Dáka and Hazár Noh the road is desolate, and there is ample room for accident; but I felt pretty certain that no one would venture to interfere with us so long as we had the Momands with us, for it is not the object of robbers to be recognised. About a mile beyond Dáka we passed Khúrd Khaibar, as it is called, where were a few kishdís, or black tents, and numerous ancient mounds and caves.

The road, heretofore along the river bank, now leads amongst low hills for some distance, until we enter the little plain of Ghirdí, a village of that name lying to our right on the river. From Ghirdí, rounding a low ridge of hill, we entered another plain, in which were two or three isolated eminences, encircled from base to summit with lines of walls and parapets. A few gaz-trees also occurred, and we did not question but that they marked sepulchral localities of the middle ages.

On reaching the cultivation dependent on Hazár Noh (the thousand canals), I told my Momand friends that they might return; and they had

taken leave, when my mírza asked Bahâdar to repeat in my hearing what he had before told him concerning Sâleh Máhomed. The tale of the Momand ran, that the Ghiljí had proposed to him at Minchiní before we started, and which explained the confabulations in the masjít there, to despoil us on the road and to divide the booty. At Haidar Khân he again urged the matter, saying that the kâs-kúrzín, which I carried on the pummel of my saddle, was full of bhútkís, or ducats, and that the larger kúrzín, or saddle-bags, of my mírza was full of Káshmír shawls. He proposed to take the ducats, and the shawls were to fall to the share of Bahâdar. He next wished that I should have been put out of the way in crossing on the float at Abkhâna; and I called to mind Bahâdar's remarks to me there, that he was a "khúsh saráí," or worthless fellow. At Shelmân he was again willing to have instigated the Momands to commit, or connive at, robbery; and I understood the precautions they at that place took to prevent it, and the recommendation they urged on my people to be vigilant during the night. The last effort he made with Bahâdar induced my stoppage on the kotal leading upon Dáka Khúrd; this having failed, he said that I should not escape him if he followed me to Súrkh Díwâr. It seems that the Momands here, who had all along been communicating to the mírza what passed, but who, in his wisdom, did not inform me, observed, that as the Ghiljí

was not "dast wardár," or inclined to desist, and as he had it in his power to cause me evil, they would cut his throat and throw him into the river, on the road to Dáka Kelân. Whether they would have done so or not I cannot tell, but there is just a chance that they would, and Bahâdar assured me that he fully intended it. The Ghiljí, however, wisely gave them the slip, and was not seen after leaving Dáka Khúrd. He, of course, was off, to beat up for more compliant associates.

I was angry with the mírza for having concealed his information from me, as, while suspecting the Ghiljí from the first, had I positively known his designs tended to mischief, I would not have scrupled to have bound him hand and foot when in my power. As it was, he was at large, and in a neighbourhood where he could collect as many villains as he chose, while we, six or seven of us, were, ridiculously enough, unarmed, and floating about, as it were, at his mercy. However, it became necessary to do the best we could under circumstances, and I trusted at Bássowal to be able to adopt some precautionary measures, as the place was this year held by Saifúlah Khân, Bárak Zai, who was my friend, and I hoped to find some of his people there, or that the malek might be disposed to give us aid. We, therefore, dismissing our Momands, passed on to Hazárnóh, a large straggling village, seated on gentle eminences, bounding to the south an extensive plain stretching to the river. In front, or

west, the hill Már Koh, under which Bássowal is situated, and which was now visible, separates it from the plain of Chahárdéh. At Hazárnóh the first object that attracted our attention was Sâleh Máhomed, seated, with a group of fifteen or twenty persons about him. I pointed him out to my mírza, who, ashamed of the rebuke he had recently received from me, affected to doubt that it was he. From Hazárnóh to Bássowal, a distance of about four cosses, or six miles, the high road leads over the eminences fringing the plain; a lower road leads more direct over the cultivated lands, but is more or less difficult to cattle, from the numerous cuts or canals of water traversing it, supplied from innumerable springs, issuing from the bases of the low hills at the line where they rest upon the level valley of the river, and which enable the inhabitants largely to cultivate rice. We preferred the lower road in spite of its obstacles, but it was not until after sunset that we reached Bássowal. In the distance, in a lofty hill on the opposite bank of the river, are seen the caves, with triangular-shaped entrances, noted by Wilford, and which partly induced him, probably, with the proximity of Már Koh, which he supposes to be Mount Merú, to locate the ancient city of Nysa in this neighbourhood. On this point we may not decide; caves are too numerously and too universally found, that any important deduction could be drawn from so comparatively a trifling group as is here presented, and

whether Már Koh may have any more serious etymological signification than the snake-hill, as understood by the natives, is doubtful. Still, Bássowal exhibits ample vestiges, as does the entire neighbourhood, of its ancient inhabitants. The caves in the hill on the opposite side of the river are also interesting evidences, as are the mounds and tumuli which accompany them at the point where the hill subsides into the plain. The various indications of old sepulchral localities are here very numerous; and the spot is called Chakanor.

On reaching Bássowal we halted in a grove contiguous to one of the enclosed villages, where we found a family, who, about to proceed to Kâbal, proposed to start at midnight, and we arranged to proceed in company. My servants went to the bazár to cater for necessaries, and one of them returned with the unsatisfactory intelligence that he had seen Sâleh Máhomed, with six other individuals, sitting at a Hindú dokân. They had taken off their shirts, muffling up their faces with them, and had tâlwârs, or swords, in their hands. I questioned him as to the certainty of the person being Sâleh Máhomed, and was told there could be no question, for he had addressed him on recognizing him, and had received an answer from him. I then commissioned another servant to walk quietly up the little bazár of the place, and without appearing to have been sent for the purpose, to see whether it was truly the Ghiljí, and by

what sort of people he was attended. This man, coming back, confirmed the other's statement; and it was clear we had to provide against the desperate scoundrel and his band of muffled villains. I directed my mírza to go to the malek of the place, and desire him to wait upon me, but I scarcely had given the direction when a large armed party came from the gate of the village close to us, who proved to be the Kohistânís who had preceded us from Dáka, and were about to make a night-march towards Jelálabád. I asked them where they were going, and on being informed, inquired if they would wait five minutes, or so long as our cattle were laden. They replied, "Yes;" and while the operation was in progress I was recognized by three or four of them, who had seen me in the Kohistân, and our understanding, therefore, became complete. I told them, in a few words, my position with the Ghiljí, and they much wished to have returned into the village, and to have secured him and his gang. I was not consenting, as they were Tâjiks, and it was just possible that the people of the village might make common cause with the ruffians, as they were all Afghâns. I was well satisfied to be fairly out of the dilemma, and trusted that the companions of Sâleh Máhomed, on finding themselves disappointed, would turn about and beat him soundly for having deceived them, and brought them, to no purpose, from their homes. We marched from Bássowal, leaving the fellows

and our apprehensions behind us. The Kohistânís exceeded forty in number, and all carried muskets. I asked them if they were loaded, and they smiled, observing, that the lads of the Kohistân never travelled with arms unloaded. We followed a road leading through marshes to the northern extremity of Már Koh, which impinges on the river, but through which is an open narrow valley, expanding upon the plain of Chahár Déh.

On the skirts of Már Koh, overlooking Chahár Déh is a tope, which I never had an opportunity to examine. We crossed this plain diagonally, clearing the southern end of the ridge, which defines it to the west, and came upon the village of Bátí Kot, near which we halted and bivouacked upon the plain. Before daylight we resumed our march, and crossed the extensive plain intervening between the last village and Súrkh Díwâr. It was intersected by rivulets, flowing from the Saféd Koh on the south. At the commencement of the ravines and broken ground of Súrkh Díwâr our party congregated, and we marched through them *en masse*. We were too strong to be attacked by any but very numerous and bold gangs of robbers, but the place has a very bad repute. On an eminence to our left were the remains of a large Chághatai castle, erected, no doubt, for the protection of the road,—they now serve to shelter robbers, who make them their ordinary lurking-place. We observed a solitary individual under

the walls, which occasioned half our party to rush up the hill, and we thoroughly scoured the ruins and their environs, but met with no other person. Clearing the ravines of Súrkh Díwâr, we gained the village of Alí Bâghân, or, as sometimes called, Sama Khél. We did not halt here, but continued our course towards Jelálabád.

On reaching a ziárat, about two miles from the town, the Kohistánís halted during the heat of the day, and as I determined to push on, I made them a present to enable them to regale themselves, which delighted them, and they said they should be happy to escort me to Kâbal, affirming, in their manner of expression, that they would carry me through the hills on their shoulders. Passing through the town of Jelálabád we arrived, about a mile beyond it, at the castle of Mírza Agâ Jân, where we were kindly welcomed. In the evening the mírza produced some tolerable wine, and, after the long journey we had made, I did not object to a piála, or cup of it. On hearing the tale of our adventures, he said he did not at all like the Ghiljí, and I observed, neither did I, but I expected to hear no more of him. He seemed to fear that the fellow had been commissioned from some high quarter. I thought not, for, in that case, false badragas would have been imposed upon us, and we should hardly have escaped. I accounted for the affair in another way. I had taken with me to Pesháwer the relics I had ex-

tracted from the Darúnta topes, and they were in the kâs-kúrzín, which the Ghiljí told the Momands was full of ducats, and which he had fixed upon as his share of the plunder. At the desire of Súltân Mấhomed Khân, and Pír Mâhomed Khân, I had exhibited them, and around at the time were standing some hundred or hundred and fifty persons. I presumed that the Ghiljí was one of the crowd, and having seen what he considered treasure, coveted its possession, and determined to obtain it by whatever means. I subsequently ascertained that he was, as he represented, a man of Maidân, and that he had been forced to fly on account of his improper conduct. One of the crimes imputed to him being the seduction of the wife of his ostád, or teacher, amongst Afghâns a grave offence. I judged, from the stories told of him, that he had been in the employ of the sirdárs of Kândahár as a robber and assassin; the chiefs of these countries retaining instruments to execute their most desperate purposes. Some time afterwards, at Kâbal, he found me out, and was willing to have been introduced to me, but I refused to see him. In the course of 1835, five nightly attempts were successively made to enter my house by a band of muffled villains, and my thoughts naturally enough recurred to my old Ghiljí friend; indeed, so long as I resided at Kâbal, from this time my house was occasionally visited by night, and I was compelled to be pre-

pared and vigilant. After remaining two or three days at the castle of Mírza Agâ Jân, I proceeded to Darúnta, and resumed operations upon the topes, and other sepulchral monuments in that vicinity, and was for some time occupied in perfecting the examination of objects, which my journey to Pesháwer had suspended. From Darúnta I repaired to Chahárbâgh of Jelálabád, and instituted a series of labours upon the topes which studded the eminences confining the plain to the south. These disposed of, I passed on to Hidda, for the sake of verifying the analogous structures there, having previously obtained the sanction of Mírza Agâ Jân, who held the place in jághír. The mírza sent his brother to secure us a due reception, and to enjoin the malek and his people to afford us all the assistance we might require. While engaged here the hot winds were somewhat troublesome, but we did not on their account suspend our labours.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of ex-sirdárs of Peshâwer. — Hâjí Khân's project.—March of Dost Máhomed Khân to Kândahár.—Feeling in the country. —Gúlistân Khân's rebellion. — His message to Amír Máhomed Khân.— Faction of Nawâb Jabár Khân.—His proposal to Dost Máhomed Khân.—Letter to the Shâh.—Imprudence of the Shâh. — Action near Kândahár. — Flight of the Shâh. — Fate of his followers. — Errors of the expedition. — Intercepted correspondence.—Abdúl Samad's villainy.—Dost Máhomed Khân's wish. — State of affairs at Kâbal. — Letter from Kámrân. — Deportment of Kândahár sirdárs.—Return to Kâbal. — Death of Amír Máhomed Khân.—Shamsodín Khân.—Proceedings of ex-sirdárs of Peshâwer. — Occupation of Jelálabád. — Disavowal of their officers.— Meeting with Dost Máhomed Khân.—Letter to Ranjit Singh. — Kámrân's offers to Shâh Sújah al Múlkh. — The Shâh's distrust. — Flies to Lâsh — to Sístân—to Balochistán.—Pursuit of the Shâh.—Generosity of Mehráb Khân. — The Shâh retires upon Zehri and Bâgh. — Honesty of Samandar Khân. — His death. — The Shâh's reception at Haidarabád.—His return to Lúdiána.—Dost Máhomed Khân's letter to Lúdiána.—Reply. —Saiyad Keramat Alí's officiousness. — Dost Máhomed Khân's promise. — The Saiyad's dilemma. — His ingenuity.— His good fortune.

I WAS yet occupied at Hidda when Súltân Máhomed Khân, having failed by submission and entreaty to induce the Síkhs to relinquish their recent conquest, and being unable longer to subsist his followers, abandoned the plain of Peshâwer, and,

viá Minchiní and the pass of Karapa, entered the valley of Jelálabád. Simultaneously, his brother, Pír Máhomed Khân, having journeyed from Kohât, crossed the Safēd Koh range and descended upon Kajar, where Súltân Máhomed Khân marched and joined him. With Pír Máhomed Khân was Náib Hâjí Khân. I have before noticed the sirdár's boast that he possessed three lákhs of rupees, that he cared not who knew it, and that, despite of his vaunts to employ it against the Síkhs, he thought better to preserve it. The treasure he had with him; and when from Kohât he had entered Bangash, Hâjí Khân wished to have persuaded him to take the road of Khost, where, in concert with the turbulent natives, he had hoped to have secured the prize. Pír Máhomed Khân was saved by the Ghúlám Khâna chiefs with him, who apprised him of the náib's designs, and led him by the direct road through Bangash, the Túrí inhabitants of which are Shías, the reason ostensibly urged by Hâjí Khân for wishing to conduct the sirdár amongst the Afghâns of Khost.

Dost Máhomed Khân had proceeded from Kâbal to Kândahár to assist in the repulse of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, who for some time had invested the place, and had made an unsuccessful attempt to carry it by assault. His brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, was left in charge of Kâbal. The march of Dost Máhomed Khân was a hazardous step, but one called for by the crisis. It was matter of no-

toriety that the chiefs of his army were well disposed towards the shâh, with whom they were in correspondence. Indeed, the Ghúlám Khâna leaders had resolved to return from Ghazní, to secure the person of Amír Máhomed Khân, and to proclaim the shâh. From this resolution, which, if carried into effect, would then have sealed the doom of Dost Máhomed Khân and the Bárak Zais, they were diverted by the timid counsels of one of their number, Máhomed Bâgher Khân, who suggested that it would be better that the Afghâns should set the example in defection. Of the feelings of the inhabitants of the country at large there was also little question, but their sympathy in the shâh's cause was passively displayed in the expression of good wishes, not in the energy of action, which might have contributed to its success. It is remarkable, that the only attempt to create a movement in favour of the shâh was made by Gúlistân Khân, the Hazára chief of Kárabâgh, south of Ghazní, at the close of the autumn of the past year; and even he did not avow himself acting in behalf of the shah, but made resistance to oppression the plea for his rebellion. He boldly engaged and defeated the Ghazní troops sent against him, and had hoped to have set the precedent for a general rising, but the apathy of the mass was not disturbed, and no one appeared to side with him. Amír Máhomed Khân, in charge of Ghazní, conscious of the delicate state of the times, did

not press matters with the refractory chief, and even soothed him by concessions. Under pretence of conferring a khelat upon him, he wished to have allured him to an interview; but, if purposing treachery, Gúlistán Khân was too experienced in darbár stratagems to place himself in the power of one to whom he had given so much cause for jealousy. His reply was characteristic. He said, that in conformity to the sirdár's orders he had mounted and taken the road to Ghazní, but had not travelled far when he met certain maleks (referring to Afghân maleks put to death by Amír Máhomed Khân) with their heads in their hands, who inquired of him where he was going, and if he wished to be treated as they had been. Knowing them to be Afghâns, he thought it possible they were wilfully giving him evil-counsel, and he proceeded, paying no attention to what they said. He had not gone much farther when Mír Yezdânbaksh met him, with his head also in his hands, who exclaimed, "Unhappy man, whither are you going? Is not my fate a warning to you?" Now, he said, he could not discredit one of his own Hazáras, and returned. Amír Máhomed Khân, however he relished this instructive communication, sent a khelat to Kárabâgh, nor insisted upon the Hazára chief's attendance. Now that Dost Máhomed Khân had marched, a son of Gúlistân Khân, with a party of horse, accompanied the army. It has before been noted, that the Nawâb Jabár Khân

corresponded with the shâh under the idea, which beset him, that his expedition was set forth with the approbation, as it must have been with the knowledge and indirect sanction, of the British-Indian government. He had formed a strong party in Dost Máhomed Khân's camp, and the Nawâbs Máhomed Zemân Khân, Máhomed Osmân Khân, and others, had bound themselves to act in respect to the shâh precisely as he might direct. The shâh, I have been told, agreed that the Nawâb Máhomed Zemân Khân was to receive Jelálabád, and the Nawâb Jabár Khân the government of the Ghiljís, of which they had been deprived by Dost Máhomed Khân; while Máhomed Osmân Khân was to retain the jághír he held. The Nawâb Jabár Khân, first taking care of himself and his confederates, not desiring absolutely to ruin Dost Máhomed Khân, aimed to procure some arrangement in which his interests might be consulted. It is impossible to conceive what plan he had devised, but at Ghazní he much entreated Dost Máhomed Khân to permit him to proceed in advance to Kândahár, for the purpose of making terms with Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, never doubting but that the shâh would be victorious. Dost Máhomed Khan replied, Lâla (a term of affection), there will be time enough for that when we are defeated; and addressed a letter himself to the shâh, ironically setting forth that his brothers at Kândahár were uncouth men, and did

not understand the respect due to imperial dignity; that he, more enlightened on the subject, was on the road, and on reaching them would teach his brothers their duty, and escort him (the shâh) to Kâbal, with all honour. The march from Ghazní to Kândahár was rapid, and on his arrival there he well knew that his only chance of safety was to join battle immediately, for had he delayed but a few days he would have been abandoned by his troops. The shâh, hitherto, had been entrenched in a position resting upon the city of Kândahár, destroyed by Nádir, and had he remained there his enemies would have been destroyed, without an effort on his part. His headstrong temper and self-will proved his ruin, for, rejecting the counsels of Samander Khân and his chiefs, on the arrival of the Kâbal army he abandoned his entrenchments and moved to the northern extremity of the hill, at whose base the old town of Hússén Khân stands, and occupied, with his troops, the gardens which abound at that point. He pretended that it was disgraceful to be pent up within lines of breastwork; but his object was clearly that of having, in case of discomfiture, his rear open to flight, for it has always been the bane of the shâh to be deficient in the actual crises of his battles, and to be more expert in providing for his personal safety than for victory.

Some of the Ghúlám Khána chiefs actually went by night to join the shâh, but finding his position

abandoned, and ignorant where to find him, they returned to the camp. The folly of the king having done all that Dost Máhomed Khân and his brothers could have wished, they lost no time in bringing on an action, and the shâh, seemingly with equal alacrity, precipitated his troops into battle, while, with the same breath that he urged them forward he issued orders to arrange for flight. While the troops were yet engaged the pusillanimous monarch left the field, following his treasure, which had been sent off the preceding night.

Dost Máhomed Khân, aware of the temper of his followers, while making the best arrangements in his power, had great mistrust of the event, as was manifested by the despatch of his equipage to Killa Azem, a march in the rear. With about two thousand men, on whom he could most certainly rely, he maintained himself aloof, as it were watching the various fortunes of the field. On one occasion he drew his sword, and directed a forward movement, but after galloping some fifty yards again reined up. It is difficult to comprehend the nature of the action that took place. No two accounts agree, the consequence of all acting independently, and without concert or orders. A weak battalion of the shâh, commanded by an Anglo-Indian, Mr. Campbell, carried all before it, dispersing in succession the battalion of Abdul Samad and the cavalry of the Kândahár chiefs, and of Máhomed Akbar Khân; entangled at length between the

high banks of a dry water-course, it was overwhelmed, and Mr. Campbell, wounded, was made prisoner. His treatment was most handsome, and he was subsequently taken by Dost Máhomed Khân to Kâbal. Of Samander Khân, the generalissimo of the shâh's army, nothing was heard. This chief had the reputation of being a very gúrg, or wolf, in combat, and Dost Máhomed Khân entertained of him so much dread that his countenance or words betrayed it whenever his name was mentioned. Some of his relatives, however, distinguished themselves, and fell on the field victims to their zeal. A variety of causes are ascribed as producing the disaster of the shâh, but all are reducible to his own incapacity and irresolution. Had he been endued with a little sense and firmness, the treachery or cowardice of Jehandád Khân, the inertness of Samander Khân, and the want of regularity amongst his followers, might not have been evinced. Indeed, the whole expedition had been one of blunders, and its termination in failure and disgrace was but the natural result of its conception and prosecution in folly and error. Dost Máhomed Khân's sons fought, if to little purpose, but the nawâbs, the Ghúlám Khâna troops, and others, stood immoveable in line, and did not even return the fire which they received. Their eyes wandered in vain over the field to discover the shâh's standard. It had never been raised. The triumph of the Bárak Zais was followed by

the usual scenes of slaughter and plunder, and the entire artillery, stores, and camp of the fugitive shâh fell into their hands. His records and correspondence became the prize of the Kândahár brothers, who transferred them to Dost Máhomed Khân. He wisely took no notice of the circumstance at the time, although it is believed that he intended to have swept out his own house, and to have wreaked his vengeance upon the Ghúlám Khâna leaders. Amongst the documents found was a copy of the treaty negotiated between the shâh and Ranjit Singh, and a variety of letters bearing the seal of Claude Martine Wade Sáhib Bahâdar, addressed to various individuals, apprising them that any service rendered to the shâh would be considered as rendered to the British government. Mirza Samí Khân more than once told me of this circumstance, saying that one of the letters was addressed to himself. He was accustomed to add, that the shâh had a knack of forging seals, and he might have exercised his dexterity in this instance. What he believed I cannot tell. Whether the letters were spurious or otherwise, the shâh had not employed them.

Abdúl Samad, who, with the Nawâb Jabár Khân, had corresponded with the shâh through the medium of the British agent, Saiyad Keramat Alí,—who, again, considered he was advancing the views of his government,—had, as soon as he reached Kândahár, sent one of his battalion men with a message

to the royal camp, in which he was found on its capture. Abdúl Samad, to conceal his own guilt, without allowing time for explanation, blew the unlucky man from a gun.

The Kândahár chiefs were anxious to have pursued the flying monarch, but Dost Máhomed Khân did not concur; and those best acquainted with his views and wishes insist that he had really no desire to secure the person of the shâh, although a very great one to possess himself of Shâhzâda Máhomed Akbar, the king's son by his own sister, as he would thereby have had, in any crisis of his affairs, a very convenient instrument to have elevated to royal dignity. As matters stood, however, he felt the necessity of returning to Kâbal, where his brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, was dangerously sick, while the sirdárs of Pesháwer, encamped in the Jelálabád valley, might profit by his absence. Besides, there were symptoms of discontent in the Kohistân, excited by Ghúlám Rasúl Khân of Perwân, who had left the army on its march from Ghazní to Kândahár, and judging that the supremacy of the Bárak Zais was drawing to a close, had returned to his home, and, by collecting troops, sought at once to promote the shâh's cause and to avenge his personal feuds and animosities. While Dost Máhomed Khân was yet at Kândahár, he received a letter from Shâhzâda Kámrân of Herát, professing that he was in nowise interested in the fate or fortunes of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh. No greater importance

was attached to this letter than was due to the fact of the Shâhzâda having condescended to send it; as he was not in the habit of corresponding with the Bárak Zais, whom he affected to consider as rebellious slaves. At this time it was within the power of the confederated chiefs to have annihilated the Herát ruler, but their own miserable dissensions effectually neutralised the ample means at their command. Notwithstanding the Kândahár chiefs owed their safety to Dost Máhomed Khân, they omitted on no occasion to treat him slightingly, and to assert their superiority, while they were so mistrustful of him as not to admit him within the walls of the city. Carrying off fifteen of the guns captured from the shâh, the Kâbal chief set out from Kândahár, and on his road picked up an addition to the number of his wives, in the person of a sister of the Thokí chief, with whom he formed a political as well as matrimonial alliance. On reaching Kâbal he found his brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, living, indeed, but speechless, and in the arms of death. The last audible words uttered by him were instructions to sell the old grain contained in certain magazines, and to replace it with new, exemplifying in his last moments the dominant principle of thrift and gain, which had distinguished him through life. As with very many provident fathers, he had a most improvident and thoughtless son; and the youthful Shamsodín Khân, on proceeding to Ghazní to assume charge of the

property to which he had become heir, remarked to his attendants, "What an excellent thing it is to have no father!"

We have noted the arrival of the fugitive chiefs of Pesháwer in the valley of Jelálabád. As soon as they were aware that Dost Máhomed Khân had passed Ghazní, imagining, like other people, that his defeat was certain, and informed of the alarming sickness of Amír Máhomed Khân at Kâbal, they began to avow their intentions of possessing themselves of the province, and their several dependent officers were commissioned to occupy the various towns and villages. Mírzas Imâm Verdí and Agâ Jân, who administered the country on the part of Amír Máhomed Khân, retired to the castle of Azzíz Khân, Ghiljí, in Khach of Lúghmân, and it quietly dropped into the hands of Súltân Máhomed Khân and his adherents. Matters had been in this state but a few days, when tidings of Dost Máhomed Khân's victory arrived. Súltân Máhomed Khân recalled his officers, pretending they had acted without his orders or sanction, and repeated salutes of artillery testified to the joy he felt on the happy occasion. He next proceeded to Kâbal, which he reached before Dost Máhomed Khân, and advanced to meet that chief to Killa Kází. He was received courteously, and was told, that, the shâh disposed of, it remained to recover Pesháwer from the Síkhs. Hâjí Khân, whose fortune again brought him to confront Dost Máhomed Khân, was assured that the past

was forgotten, the chief remarking, that if he had abandoned him he had joined another of the family, and had not connected himself with strangers. A crusade against the Síkhs was immediately proclaimed, and letters were despatched to Ranjit Singh, calling upon him to give up Pesháwer to Súltân Máhomed Khân, from whom he had furtively acquired it, while Dost Máhomed Khân was engaged in the repulse of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, as much the enemy of the Máhárájá as of the Bárak Zais.

As we shall hereafter have no opportunity of alluding to the vanquished Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, it may be explained here, that his flight from the field of battle at Kândahár was directed to Farra, which he reached in safety. Shâhzâda Kámrân on hearing of his arrival despatched handsome presents, and a letter, stating that he was interested in the shâh's favour, that his success would be agreeable to him, and in accordance with his own plans. He recommended another attempt to be made upon Kândahár, as Dost Máhomed Khân could scarcely march a second time to its relief, and proffered to send his son, Shâhzâda Jehânghír, with four thousand horse, and guns, to assist.

Of the sincerity of Kámrân those with the king did not doubt, but he, always suspicious, fancied that Prince Jehânghír would be instructed to seize him, and this idea so completely possessed his mind that he precipitately fled from Farra

to Lâsh, the fortress and domain of Sâlú Khân. This chief, in disgrace with Shâhzâda Kámrân, accorded the rites of hospitality to the king his guest, but did not, perhaps could not, further assist him. It is hard to determine whether the shâh was warranted in his apprehensions of Shâhzâda Kámrân. His seizure did not follow as a consequence of the Shâhzâdá's offers of assistance, but was an event quite compatible with the spirit of Afghân diplomacy. In truth, the proposal to conquer Kândahár for him evinced more generosity than the shâh was conscious he deserved, and very probably he imagined that he was about to be made a tool of, and when the object was gained would be discarded, or placed in durance. From Lâsh, he directed his steps across the desert of Sístân towards Kalât of Balochistân; and Rahám Dil Khân of Kândahar, informed of his movements, made an effort to intercept him. The shâh had here need of all his good fortune. Having gained the territory of Kalât, he had encamped at the southern extremity of the plain of Mangarchar, between Mastúng and the capital, when Rahám Dil Khân, with three hundred horse, reached its northern extremity. Thence he sent out his spies to procure precise intelligence of the shâh, of whose proximity he was ignorant. One of them, who ascertained the shâh's position, sympathized with royalty in misfortune, and informed him of his danger. Not a moment was lost; and the king, with a few at-

tendants, galloped off towards Garâní, a little village about six miles from Kalât. The spy, on his return to Rahám Dil Khân, told him that the shâh had taken the Bolan route, which induced the chief to follow smartly in that direction, but finding on his road that he was in error he returned and made his way to Garâní. The shâh had previously arrived at Kalât, where Mehráb Khân, the Bráhúí ruler, was encamped in a garden. The monarch, without ceremony, walked directly into his tent, and claimed his protection. It was instantly accorded. Dáoud Máhomed, the Ghiljí adviser of the Khân, in vain entreated his master to deliver up the defeated prince, who was fortified in his resolution by his wife, Bíbí Ghinjân. Mehráb Khân intimated to Rahám Dil Khân at Garâní that it was unbecoming in him to pursue an unfortunate Sadú Zai king with so much rancour, and, informing him that he had determined to protect him, recommended that he should retire. The khân subsequently sent the shâh to Zehrí, that he might repose a while after his fatigues and adventures; after which he went to Bâgh in Kachí.

Here he found Samander Khân, who creditably enough delivered to him a sum of money, left in his castle at Quetta, when the advance was made on Kândahár, and counselled a fresh effort for the conquest of that place. The shâh approved the plan, and commenced the levy of troops, when Samander Khân fell suddenly sick, and died. The

shâh next proceeded to Haidarabád in Sind, where Mír Sohabdár, one of the mírs, thought fit to infringe the etiquette the monarch in misfortune even insisted upon, and strove rudely with his followers to enter the royal tent. The shâh gave the order "Bizan," or slay, and two or three of the mír's adherents paid the forfeit of their chief's indiscretion. The other mírs were at hand to moderate the king's ire, and to excuse the conduct of their boisterous relative, however it may have been evinced with their contrivance and knowledge. The shâh finally finding he could do no better, returned to Lúdiána, from whence he had started, bringing with him, as is asserted, more money than he had taken away.

Dost Máhomed Khân when at Jelálabád, and previous to his march to Kândahár, had written to the political agent at Lúdiána, desiring to be informed if Shâh Sújah al Múlkh marched with the support of the British Government, observing, that if he proceeded with a few followers without such support, it were an easy matter to dispose of him, but if with it, the case became different, and he could not hope to oppose him and the British Government combined. The political agent replied, that the Government had nothing whatever to do with the shâh's movements, but that they were his well-wishers.

It has been noticed that Saiyad Keramat Alí, adopting the general impression, had committed

himself by becoming the medium of correspondence between the Nawâb Jabár Khân, Abdúl Samad, and others at Kâbal, with the shâh. His conduct was not likely to be concealed from Dost Máhomed Khân; and as the saiyad's licentious opinions on religion had rendered him obnoxious to many people, they urged upon Dost Máhomed Khân the propriety of seizing him, and expelling him the country. One of his bitterest opponents, Akkúnd Máhomed, obtained from Dost Máhomed Khân the promise to do so should he succeed in defeating Shâh Sújah al Múlkh; and at Kândahár, when the saiyad's letters, with the others, turned up in the shâh's camp, the fulfilment of the promise was claimed, and in the temper the sirdár was in he was readily induced to send orders to Amír Máhomed Khân to place the saiyad under arrest. The Nawâb Jabár Khân, apprised of the circumstance, also despatched a letter to Amír Máhomed Khân, conjuring him, if he esteemed him a brother, to respect the saiyad's liberty, and another to his favourite wife, directing her on no account to allow the saiyad to be taken from her house, while he urged all his influence with Dost Máhomed Khân to have the order rescinded. The saiyad, in this dilemma, shrewdly enough gave out that he was ordered to return to India, which, if he did not reach by a certain date his pay was to be stopped; and further, that his wife was waiting for him at Ráoal Pindí. The sudden sickness of

Amír Máhomed Khân may have saved the saiyad; and the nawâb was enabled to represent to Dost Máhomed Khân that it was needless to expel a man who was himself going, and whose wife was waiting for him at Ráoal Pindí.

CHAPTER XII.

Start on a tour to Khonar.—Bísút.—Tokchí.—Topes.—Púlwári.—Bazárak. — Khonah Déh. — Malek Shafi. — Kohistánís. — Khúshâl Khân.—Tope of Khonah Déh.—Killa Pádsháh.—Fatí Máhomed Khân.—Islámabád.—Saiyad Hissám and his ladies. —Mistaken for Bází-ghars.—Remains at Islámabád.—Route to Chitrâl.—Dara Núr.—Barkot and Daminj.—Máhomed Zemân Khân's failure.—Kázi Khél family.—Feud.—Bilangar.—Bísút. —Return to Tátang.—Trip to Lúghmân.—Killa Kâfr.—Chahárbágh. — Kergah. — Mandarâwar. — Tirgari. — Rivers of Alishang and Alingár. — Múmjúma.—Namzát Bází.— Fatal accident.— Ziárat Métar Lám Sáhib.—Tomb.—Wilford's reveries.—Native traditions.—Sultân Máhmúd's dream.— Discovery of Lamech's grave.—Ancient vestiges.—Koh Karinj.—Alishang. — Nadjíl. — Malek Osmân. — Sáleh Rána Kot. — Rubies.—Alingár.— Dara Niázi.— Revenue of Lúghmân.— Extent of cultivation.—Crops.—Eels.—Fire-flies.—Inhabitants. —Skilful agriculturists. —Amusing story.— Máhomed Akbar Khân's disaster.—Tope of Múrkhi Khél.—Conjectures.—Nokar Khél.—Múrkhí Khél.—Jájis.—Nasrúlah.—Tumulus of Nokar Khél.—Departure for Kâbal.—Terikki.—Arrival at Kâbal.

THE unsettled state of the country was unfavourable to the continuance of my researches, and I left Hidda, where I might otherwise have longer stayed, for Tátang. After resting a day or two, I repaired to my old haunts of Darúnta, and directed the examination of a number of tumuli, which abound there, some apparently connected with the topes, but many of them, it was fair to

infer, independent structures. I was occupied some time with them, when, taking my workmen, with their implements, we started on a tour into Khonar, as well to discover if there were any monuments there as to see that part of the country. We left the castle of Náib Yár Máhomed, my headquarters at Darúnta, myself, as well as my companions, on foot, and tracing the bank of the river, crossed it at the ferry of Behár Robát, where I saw the process of washing for gold. The road for about a mile led from the ferry across a small marsh choked with reeds, filling the space between the river and a low hill to the north of it; when we crossed a spur from the hill stretching towards the stream, on which is a white tomb, called the Kabar Lúlí, and entered the plain of Bísút. A mile brought us to the village of Kerímabád; a little beyond which are the two castles of Benáres Khân. We followed the high road skirting the cultivated lands, having between us and the hills a greater or less extent of barren surface. Traversing the entire extent of the valley from west to east, we reached at night a small Afghân fortlet, called Killa Shâhgalli, north of the village of Bílangar. In the morning we moved on to Tokchí, and came upon the Kámeh, or river of Khonar, the hills on either side of it approaching. In what is called the tanghí of Tokchí are three castles, one of them a superior one, named Bínígâh, built by Abdúl Ganní Khân, one of the Bárak

Zai family. It has a large extent of good land adjacent, and on the hill opposite to it on the west are the remains of a minute tope; curiosity had led, very possibly, Abdúl Ganní Khân himself to examine the structure; and whatever else he may have found, a huge block of stone, lying amongst the rubbish, plainly informed us that it had once been more honourably situated within the monument. Beyond the castles we walked for a considerable distance through marshes and flags, until we reached a zíárat at the corner of a low detached hill, a few yards to the east of us being the small village of Abdúl Khél. Here also we found a tope, of more considerable dimensions, but of ruder construction, which, with reference to the structures on the plain of Jelálabád, would rank in the third, or inferior class. It had no signs of embellishment, and not a trace of the coating of cement with which, we may conjecture, it was once covered, was visible. It had been perforated at some former period on all sides, and although it was impossible to decide whether the relics had been discovered, there was little encouragement to employ our labour in search of them. In age the monument appeared to agree with those of Hidda. About a mile beyond the zíárat we reached the castles of Púlwârí, having passed to our right, on and about an eminence near the river, a very considerable ancient place of sepulture, evidenced by the usual tokens of

walls, mounds, &c. I have been told that there is an inscription here, but could never find any one able to point it out. From Púlwârí we went on to Shéghí, an enclosed village, of about three hundred houses, where we halted for the day, in a grove of plane-trees adjacent. The following morning our route led us to Bazárak, also a walled-in village of three hundred houses. Resting awhile there, we were visited by Pádshâh Gúl, the hereditary malek, who sent an offering of pomegranates. From hence we passed on to Khonah Déh, a small enclosed village of sixty houses, seated on an eminence; behind which was a small, but very perfect tope, in style of architecture greatly resembling the tope Nandára of Darúnta, and I should judge, of the same age. The basement and cylindrical superstructure were very entire. This monument I should have been pleased to have opened, but as soon as I learned that the village belonged to Malek Shafí Khân I suspected there would be difficulty. This man had long been the petty tyrant of this part of the country, and was connected with the inhabitants of Dara Núr, amongst whom, when pressed by the authorities, he took refuge, and who, if required, furnished him with their bands. By their instrumentality he had become paramount over his immediate neighbours, and during the feeble sway of Máhomed Zemân Khân, whom he little feared, had made himself of some notoriety. Amír Máhomed

Khân's first care on receiving charge of the Jelálabád province, was to reduce to a due sense of their dependent situation the several maleks, who had too much presumed on the weakness of his predecessor. Malek Shafí Khân early received his attention, and, agreeably to the plan of attempering severity with kindness, was fined five thousand rupees, and then made to give his daughter to a son of the chief. I found the malek was close at hand, in the neighbouring village of Kallatak, which he holds in jághír, and therefore paid him my respects. He received me as I anticipated, very coolly, and on starting the question as to whether he had any objection to my employing workmen on the tope, without absolutely replying that he had, his language was by no means encouraging. He was surrounded by his armed attendants, men of the Dara Núr, or Kohistânís, as here called, and they conversed with him in their own peculiar dialect, which, however, is so mixed up with Hindí, that I, and others of my people, comprehended the drift of their discourse. We understood that we might open the tope, but should not be permitted to carry off what we found in it. I therefore wished the malek good-b'ye for the present, telling him I should call upon him again, when Dost Máhomed Khân came with his troops to Jelálabád, although I doubted whether I should have the pleasure of seeing him, as he then would be, probably, off to the Dara Núr.

Khúshâl Khân, Jabár Khél, of Kirgah in Lúghmán, one of his friends, and his surety with the Sirdár Amír Máhomed Khân, was on a visit to him, and present at our interview. Being also an acquaintance of mine, he strove to induce the malek to be civil and compliant, but to no purpose, and following me after I arose, told me that he was involved in Malek Shafi's faction, but must confess he was a desperate man, and not to be trusted.

The malek, about forty years of age, had a fine commanding presence; but his countenance, while expressive of ability, alike betrayed his little scrupulous and reckless disposition. My experience with topes induced me to conjecture that this one of Khonah Déh had been erected over a relic of some saint, and that we should not have found any coins in it. In the hills behind it are a number of caves, proving the spot to have been a víhára, or monastery, as there are more than would have been necessary in simple connexion with the monument. We now passed the village of Kallatak, containing, within walls, about five hundred houses, and proceeded to Shéva, another village, of three hundred houses, where we halted for the day. The river was now a little distance to the south. From Shéva we passed in the morning to Lamatak, a village of sixty houses, and thence to Killa Pádshâh, the deserted seignorial castle of Fati Máhomed Khân, Popal Zai. This noble-

man was one of the sirdárs and friends of Máhomed Azem Khân in Káshmír, and had received substantial proofs of his patron's favour. He was reputed, and perhaps with justice, wealthy, and on that account, as well as others, did not venture to place himself in the power of Dost Máhomed Khân. So long as Máhomed Zemân Khân retained authority at Jelálabád he attached himself to his interests, and enjoyed in return a considerable revenue from Khonar. He erected the killa, or castle, which we now saw in decay, and planted orchards and gardens, making the retreat a very agreeable and commodious one. He contrived to extricate himself from Jelálabád a day or two before its capture, and escaped to Pesháwer, but Dost Máhomed Khân seized and confiscated his property in Khonar. The Nawâb Jabár Khân was much displeased, one of his wives, and the most powerful of them, being a daughter of Fatí Máhomed Khân; and thought that, for his sake, the castle and property might have been spared. Dost Máhomed Khân, on his part, was glad that the opportunity occurred to annoy the feelings of his relative.

From Killa Pádshâh we moved on to Islámabád, a small walled-in village, where resides Saiyad Hissám, of the family of the saiyads of Khonar. As we were following the path people came from the village, shouting to us to retire, and driving away the weavers, plying their looms under the

shade of the trees. The saiyad and his ladies, it seemed, were about to walk to a garden and summer-house by the river-side, and, of course, no profane eyes were permitted even to look upon such sacred and reserved objects. We took the liberty to advance in place of retiring, and when we were at a due distance a report was made, and out stalked Saiyad Hissám, a corpulent, unwieldy personage, attended by a flock of chaddered females. When they had nearly reached the garden we returned towards the village; and the saiyad, looking back, observed my companions, with their implements shouldered, and it occurring to him that they were bázi-ghars, or merry-andrews with their poles, he bellowed with a voice like thunder for them to come down and divert his ladies; but some one, probably, informing him of his mistake, he again roared out, and motioned with his hand for them to be off.

We here inquired as to the road in advance, and found it not advisable to proceed farther, as, though we were many, we were unarmed. We had already witnessed at Killa Pádshâh that the men of the Dara Núr came into the little hamlet there, and violently helped themselves to any trifling thing they coveted, and we very nearly had a scuffle with them.

The valley hence becomes contracted, and we could see up it for about three miles, to a place called Kúndí, when it turns to the north. Im-

mediately behind Islámpúr is a hill, covered with the remains of walls and parapets, indicating a place of ancient sepulture. On one of the eminences are the remains of a very small tope, so dilapidated to the south that the interior of the building is exposed, and shows that a perpendicular shaft extended from top to bottom. At Kúndí, I was informed, were similar vestiges, but to a greater extent. At this place the valley of Khonar may correctly be said to commence, as beyond it are the petty towns and villages held by the various members of the saiyad family, for many generations established in it, as Khonar, Peshat, &c.

It would be an interesting journey to follow the course of the river from this point to Chitrâl; and, while collecting all the information I could respecting it, I did not question but that, with due precaution, the route was a practicable one.

From Islámabád we returned to Killa Pádshâh, and remained there during the heat of the day. This castle is placed at the entrance of a valley leading up the hills to the north, in which are the castles of Búdiálí, Súrúch, Amlah, &c., and which breaks off into the valley of Dara Núr on the east, and into the valleys of Barkot and Daminj on the west. At its upper extremity is a castle, called Killa Pádshâh, alike built by Fatí Máhomed Khân, possibly for the coercion of, or

as a check upon, the neighbouring tribes. It was regarded by them with great jealousy, and at the time of his disasters was taken possession of. It is now held by Maleks Khodâ Nazar and Mastapha.

Dara Núr is inhabited by people calling themselves Sáfís, but speaking their own peculiar dialect, and not understanding the Pashto language. They are a straightforward, manly race, with florid complexions, light eyes, and hair. They have many peculiar customs, and retain many vestiges of ancient arts; for instance, they have bee-hives, unknown to the inhabitants of the plains. Their valley is most celebrated amongst their neighbours as being the native soil of the nerkhis (narcissus), posies of which brought therefrom I have seen. It is affirmed that there is a variety of the flower with black petals. The hills of the inhabitants yielding grapes, quantities of wine and vinegar are made by them; the few samples of the former I have met with were sour and unpalatable, and did not cause me to admire the beverage of the Sáfís. The valleys of Barkot and Daminj, to the west of Dara Núr, are alike inhabited by Sáfís, independent and lawless, but engaged in enmity with their neighbours of the contiguous dara. Barkot is said to include about one hundred and fifty families, and Daminj the same number, or a few more. The people of the two daras, unable to contend with their more numerous enemies, are strictly leagued with the inhabitants of Káshmún,

a village high up in the hills still farther to the west.

Máhomed Zemân Khân, during his exercise of power, marched with a force to compel the inhabitants of Barkot to become raiyats, and to pay tribute. They flooded the approaches to their valley, and the sirdár retired disgracefully, after losing many of his men. He consoled himself by the boast that he had been where Nádír had never been.

Towards the afternoon we retraced our steps to Lamatak and Shéva, the road pleasantly leading along a canal fringed with trees, on which vines were spreading in festoons above. From Shéva, instead of again visiting Kalatak, we skirted the river-bank, and passing three castles, called collectively Killa Noh Júí, the property of Malek Shafí Khân, we came to a seignorial castle, belonging to Sádadín, father of Mír Saifadín Khân, the khân múlla of Kâbal. Hence we passed on to Shéghí, where we fixed ourselves for the night. In this neighbourhood are the family castles of the Kází Khél family of Kâbal, from whom the kází and khân múlla, with others of the hierarchy, are provided. Their ancestor, Faizúlah, kází to Taimúr Shâh, was a person of great influence; he was succeeded in office by his son Sádadín, now living retired in this neighbourhood, one of whose sons is the actual khân múlla. Murder has been committed in this family, one of them,

Saiyad Habíb, having been slain by his brother; consequently there is a serious feud in it; and it is probable that in a few years the ruin of the whole will follow in the train of the fratricide.

From Shéghí, on the succeeding day, we returned by the road we had come to Killa Shâhgalli, and thence moved on to Bilangar, a village of two hundred houses, where we halted. The next day, having previously skirted the plain of Bísút to the north, we took a central road through the villages and cultivated lands. This led us by the castles of Manohar Khân and Abdúl Gafúr Khân to Bísút, the ancient village, giving name to the plain. It was small, enclosed within walls, and contained a slight bazar. The neighbourhood was cheerful, from its pastures and clusters of date-trees. Thence, at a short distance, we passed the smaller village of Abdín, and afterwards the two castles of Benáres Khân, from which we made the village of Kerimabád. From that place we gained Kabar Lúlí, and thence passed on to Killa Behár Robát, where we halted for the night. The following morning we crossed the river, and rejoined our head-quarters at Killa Náib Yár Máhomed. I was sufficiently pleased with this pedestrian excursion to meditate another to Lúghmân; and, allowing my companions a day or two to repose themselves, I went on to Tátang, to look after my horses, and to ascertain if aught worthy

of my attention had occurred during my absence.

Returning to Darúnta, I started with my companions to Lúghmân.

From the náib's castle, a course of nearly two miles brought us to the termination of the Siáh Koh range, through a fissure in the extremity of which the river of Kâbal escapes from the valley of Lúghmân into that of Jelálabád. This spot always appeared to me as singular as it is picturesque. On the rocks on either side there are water-marks, considerably, perhaps sixty to eighty feet, above the highest level the river now attains. On the summit of the eminence on the opposite bank are the remains of ancient walls and parapets, called Killa Kâfr, but pointing out an ancient burial-place. This eminence in composition is the same with the Siáh Koh, of which it is obviously the termination, and sinks beneath a low series of sandstone and conglomerate elevations, which stretch north of the river the whole extent of the plain of Jelálabád, resting upon Koh Kergah, and filling up the space between the valleys of Lúghmân and Khonar, as Koh Kergah defines their northern limits, so far as it stretches. Having crossed the ferry, the road winds over the point where the conglomerate rest upon the eminence; and thence we commanded a fair view of the portion of Lúghmân before us, of the villages of Chahárbâgh and Kergah, of the river of Kâbal, and the district of Khach.

Skirting the conglomerate elevations the greater part of the way, we at length reached Chahárbâgh, where we were entertained by the Hindú Diwân Jowáhír. In the neighbourhood of this village are a vast number of mounds, and beneath the hills behind it to the north we found a small but compact tumulus, arranged in the manner of those of Darúnta. Chahárbâgh is the capital of a district, and yields with it a revenue of twenty thousand rupees. It may contain five hundred houses, has a moderately-supplied bazar, and a manufactory of swords, gun-barrels, and cutlery. The next day, passing the castles of Khúshâl Khân, Jabár Khél, we made Kergah, a small village romantically seated on a rocky eminence at the western extremity of the line of hill generally designated by its name. Immediately west of it, the united rivers of Lúghmân fall into that of Kâbal. We crossed the former stream, and went on to Mandarâwár, where we proposed to halt, but the person we intended to honour with our company was absent. This is a considerable walled-in village, with bazar, and occupies a square of about three hundred and twenty yards. Our course from Killa Kâfr to Mandarâwár had been from east to west; we now turned towards the north, and the road tracing the line of eminences confining the cultivated lands, we left behind us in succession the villages of Haidar Khân and Kâla Kot, and in the evening reached the walled-in town of Tírgarí; to gain which we had to

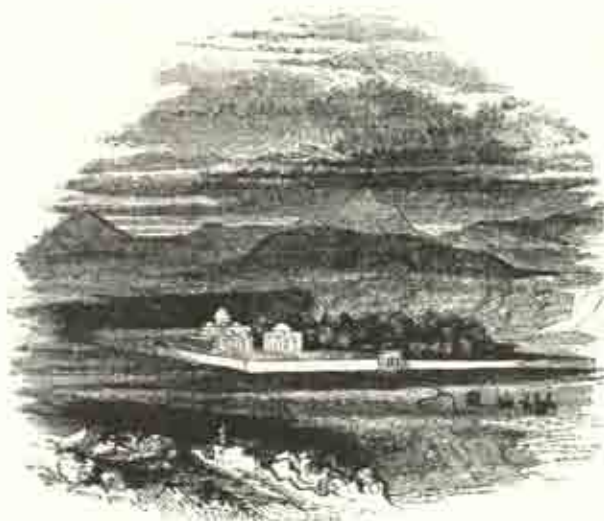
re-cross the stream. At Tírgarí unite the rivers of Alíshang and Alingár, the latter bearing the name of Kow, and its source is supposed to be very remote, that of the river of Alíshang being nearer. The valley of Alingár, wide and spacious, tends eastward from Tírgarí, as that of Alíshang inclines westward. In Alingár is the castle of Múmjúma, belonging to Máhomed Shâh Khân, Ghiljí, who has also other castles there, as well as in Tézín. In one of his Lúghmân castles, called Badiabád, it would appear, the captive ladies and officers in the power of Máhomed Akbár Khân, were secured, previous to their transfer to one of his Tézín castles, where late accounts describe them to have been carried. Máhomed Shâh Khân is connected by alliances both with Máhomed Akbár Khân and the Nawâb Jabár Khân. The former espoused one of his daughters, and the latter, when governor of the Ghiljís, was affianced to his sister, represented to be a handsome and intelligent woman.

Many of the Afghân tribes have a custom in wooing, similar to what in Wales is known as bundling-up, and which they term namzât bází. The lover presents himself at the house of his betrothed with a suitable gift, and in return is allowed to pass the night with her, on the understanding that innocent endearments are not to be exceeded. The bands of the maiden's perjâmas are very tightly secured, and she is enjoined on no account to suffer them to be unloosed. The precaution is not always

effective, and whether from being inconveniently tight or from other causes, the bands are a little relaxed; and, from natural consequences, it is necessary to precipitate the union of the parties, and not unfrequently the bridegroom when he receives his bride carries home with her his first-born in a bakkowal, or cradle.

The Nawâb Jabár Khân went on a namzât bází visit to the sister of Máhomed Shâh Khân, and wishing to profit by the opportunity more than the lady's modesty permitted, received a severe chastisement from her slippers, which so disheartened him that, though often threatening to fetch her to his house, he has never summoned resolution to do so, and when I left the country she was yet pining away in celibacy and solitude at Múmjúma.

We found an Afghân friend at Alíshang, and accompanied him to his village of Pashai, about three quarters of a mile beyond it. The following morning we repaired on a visit to the ziárat, or shrine of Métar Lám Sáhib, about two miles distant from our village. In our transit we had to cross the river of Alíshang, which, like its neighbour of Alingár, while not deep, unless at particular seasons, has a rapid current, and its bed so full of loose boulders that it is always dangerous to cross. No year elapses that many casualties are not occasioned by these rivers, and while we were here, and within our observation, a fatal accident happened. A man crossing on horseback was drowned, the animal

having lost his footing and fallen. I was surprised, for there was not so much as a foot and a half of water, but I was given to understand that a man who falls is lost. Having gained the eminences edging the cultivated lands, their summits covered with ancient sepulchral vestiges, we soon reached, in a hollow, the celebrated ziárat. I inspected it,

ZIARAT METAR LAM.

and my companions strove to propitiate the favour of the holy personage supposed to be interred here. There is no very pompous or extensive establishment, yet the place is kept clean, and in a certain degree of order. It is regularly visited every Júma by the people of the neighbourhood, and in the

spring mélas, or fairs, are held here. It is considered that the fertility of the cultivated lands is due to the possession of the grave of so distinguished a patriarch, and whoever is buried within the precincts of the holy place is deemed secure of paradise; hence many noble families choose to send their dead here, as did Fatí Máhomed Khân of Khonar, and the Sirdár Saiyad Máhomed Khân of Hashtnagár, besides many others; and the contributions of such people, no doubt, mainly support the humble establishment. The tomb, one of those of extraordinary dimensions, which has been assigned to the father of Noah, is but half of the length of that ascribed, with equal propriety, to the patriarch Lot, being sixteen yards only in length from north to south, while its breadth is about two yards and a half. In height it stands about five feet; and covered over with cement, is painted throughout in imitation of brick-work. Palls of cloth and silk are duly spread over it. Wilford had learned in some manner that the grave was provided with a small door beneath, conducting into a vault where the corpse of the patriarch, in excellent preservation, was to be seen in a sitting posture, now the favourite one of the natives of India. Whether he believed such to be the case, or wished others to believe so, I cannot tell, yet the gravity with which he repeats the tale is wonderful. I need scarcely add, that there is no such door beneath the grave, nor any such vault, and those who would

wish to see the good old patriarch Lamech, sitting cross-legged, would be disappointed if they came to Lúghmân in search of him. The traditions now current in the country vary in some measure from those related to Wilford, as indeed they differ in themselves. Some consider Métar Lám to have been the brother of Nohlákhí Sáhib, another celebrated saint, or deified hero, who with nine lákhs, or nine hundred thousand men, waged war against the infidels. The former died here, and the latter in the Kâfr country, where his zíárat is held in high veneration, although, of course, inaccessible to Máhomedans.

It is universally believed that the Kâfrs, stealthily and by night, visit the zíárat of Métar Lám Sáhib. Another story relates, that when Súltân Máhmúd first entered Lúghmân, Métar Lám appeared to him in a dream, and informed him that his remains were interred in the country, and no honour was paid to the spot, from its being unknown. The apparition, farther, good-naturedly instructed him as to the manner in which the locality was to be detected. In pursuance of the lessons he had received, the súltân mounted a camel, allowing the animal to go whithersoever he pleased, and he was finally brought to the spot where the zíárat now is. The súltân, alighting, thrust his lance into the ground, whence blood instantly issued. The miracle convinced the prince of the verity of the dream, and of the facts disclosed by

it, and the sacred place became, in consequence, the object of his care and munificence. Very many of the shrines in Lúghmân are of the connexions of Métar Lám; and his grave being once found it became easy to discover the graves of his relatives. They are all of extraordinary dimensions. On our return to Pashai we examined the several zíárats at the villages in our road, and found fragments of sculptured white marble in more than one of them. There was, no doubt, at all times a town of more or less importance at this point, and the old burial-places were those vestiges we observed on the eminences contiguous. Many relics, as coins, &c., are occasionally found; but they create no wonder, for in what part of the country are they not found in similar situations? Our next excursion from Pashai was to Alishang, and to the castle of Alládád Khân, somewhat beyond it. We carefully investigated the valley, now diminishing in compass as it neared the hills, on either side, that no tope or important structure might escape our scrutiny, and we found none, although numerous caves and tumuli everywhere are common. None of the caves, however, occur in number or groups, so that we might infer they related to a place of former consequence; the contrary deduction might be authorized.

The northern limit of the valley is prominently marked by the high mountain Koh Karinj, extending from east to west along its entire length, and round whose respective extremities the rivers

of Alíshang and Alingár wind. This mountain, while snow sometimes partially covers its summits, is without the limit of perpetual congelation, and is distinguished by its vegetable, as well as animal productions. The vine flourishes on it, and monkeys rove over its sides. I have constantly heard of an inscription, said to exist at some part of the hill, but could never find any one who could point it out.

On the northern side of Koh Karinj commence the seats of the Síáposh Káfrs, who are accustomed to roam over the hill; therefore when parties visit it, as they sometimes do, on excursions of hunting or pleasure, it is necessary that they go in number, and prepared for the chances of a hostile encounter. Alíshang is a small walled-in town, of about four hundred houses, but has nothing remarkable in its appearance, or any tokens to denote it an ancient site of consequence. The contracted valley, indeed, on either side, has abundance of mounds, and in the sides of the encircling eminences are caves, but, as we have so frequently observed, such vestiges are too common to demand especial notice, unless they have in themselves something peculiar or extraordinary. The emperor Baber mentions the place under the same denomination it bears at present; and he judged it necessary to put the refractory malek to death. The actual inhabitants are reputed for their quarrelsome propensities, and there is a proverb, or saying, current in Lughmán, referring to the two towns

of Chahárbâgh and Alíshang, or rather to the manners of those who inhabit them, which runs:—

Chahárbâgh, ding, dâng;
Alíshang, jang, jang.

We followed the valley beyond the castle of Alládád Khân until it might be said to cease, and to the point where the road strikes off towards the north for Nadjil, said to be eight cosses, or twelve miles, distant, when we returned. Nadjil is held by people now called Tâjiks, but were recently Kâfrs, and who, while professing Máhomedanism, preserve, in great measure, their pristine manners and customs. They pay revenue to the governor of Lúghmân. Their malek, Osmân, from his long standing and experience, enjoys a reputation out of his retired valley. He boasts of descent, not exactly from Alexander the Great, but from Amír Taimúr; and when rallied upon the subject, and asked how so diminutive a being can lay claim to so proud an origin, replies, that he has only to put out one of his eyes, and lame one of his legs, and he would become Taimúr himself. The tradition goes, that Taimúr procured a wife in this country. It is curious to find, on reference to the history of this monarch, not a confirmation of the tradition, but a circumstantial detail of his visit to this part of the world.

Baber notes, that in his time swine were plentiful in Lúghmân. In these days there are none, the

entire conversion of its inhabitants having effected the extinction of the unclean race. The natives of Nadjíl fatten capons, which are sent as presents and luxuries to their friends. About eight miles south-west of Alíshang is a place called Sâloh Ráná Kot, where are two or three modern castles and, it is said, some ancient vestiges. From a spring there, it is also asserted that fragments of rubies are ejected, and that parcels of them have been collected and sold to the pessárís, or drug-compounders, at Kábal as medicaments. The opposite valley to Alíshang, that of Alingár, is much more spacious and of greater length. It is inhabited chiefly by Afghâns, Ghiljís, Arrokís, and Níázís; is amply provided with castles, but has no considerable village. In one of its southern valleys, the dara Níází, very many of the usual sepulchral indications are to be found; and the discovery of treasure there when the nawâb held the government of the Ghiljís, led to the loss of many lives. The revenue of Lúghmân amounts to two hundred and thirty thousand rupees; and as the Afghâns contribute one hundred and sixty thousand, it may be judged how much of the land is in their possession; as a great part of the Tâjik revenue is derived from the towns and villages in which they nearly exclusively reside. As is customary throughout the Kâbal territories, the Afghâns and Tâjiks have their separate hákams, or governors, and the latter are dependent on the government of Jelálabád. It

is computed that there are one hundred thousand jerríbs of cultivated land in the valley of Lúghmân, exclusive of twenty thousand in Khach, or the narrow slip of land between the course of the Kâbal river and the Síáh Koh range.

The lands are very productive, and the agriculturists are esteemed expert. Two general crops are obtained in the year, as in Ningrahár and Pesháwer, the Rabbí and Kharíf, the first of barley and wheat, the latter of rice, sugar-cane, and cotton. The artificial grasses are extensively grown, and wasma, a species of indigo-plant, is reared. Formerly the extract was made, as neglected vats and reservoirs in the earth at one or two places testify; at present the leaves of the plant are dried as tobacco leaves, and the pulverized mass is sold to the dyers, who use the infusion. I observed with pleasure the fire-fly enlivening the darkness of the nights. I had previously seen an occasional one at Darúnta: here they were numerous, and in groups. In some of the canals the eel is found, called már-mâhí, or the snake-fish; it is matter of dispute whether the ambiguous animal is or not lawful food. The heat is very oppressive in Lúghmân until the month of September, when the weather becomes temperate, and the winter is delightful. The great amount of land given over to the cultivation of rice, by being inundated until the grain matures, throws out very noxious exhalations before the harvest, and to walk

amongst the fields is very unpleasant, but the same may be said of all rice-countries.

The Tâjiks of Lúghmán speak a dialect called by themselves and their neighbours Lúghmâní, but which, I presume, to be nearly the same as the Pashai, the Kohistâní of Dara Núr, and the dialect of the Síáposh Kâfrs. They also speak Persian. They are industrious, and remarkably neat cultivators of the land. The ridges between the several plots of soil are formed very precisely, the fields are weeded, and altogether are so tended as I have nowhere else witnessed. They are partial to drill-husbandry, and transplant all their rice-plants, and receive the benefit of their skill and labour in overflowing crops. They are esteemed a very cunning and litigious people, and, according to their neighbours, their agricultural proficiency need not be wondered at, considering to whom they are indebted for it. On which matter they have the following amusing story: —

In times of yore, ere the natives were acquainted with the arts of husbandry, the shaitân, or devil, appeared amongst them, and winning their confidence, recommended them to sow their lands. They consented, it being farther agreed that the devil was to be a sherík, or partner, with them. The lands were accordingly sown with turnips, carrots, beet, onions, and such vegetables whose value consists in the roots. When the crops were

mature the shaitán appeared, and generously asked the assembled agriculturists if they would receive for their share what was above-ground or what was below. Admiring the vivid green hue of the tops, they unanimously replied, that they would accept what was above ground. They were directed to remove their portion, when the devil and his attendants dug up the roots, and carried them away. The next year he again came, and entered into partnership. The lands were now sown with wheat and other grains, whose value lies in their seed-spikes. In due time, as the crops had ripened, he convened the husbandmen, putting the same question to them as he did the preceding year. Resolved not to be deceived as before, they chose for their share what was below ground; on which the devil immediately set to work and collected the harvest, leaving them to dig up the worthless roots. Having experienced that they were not a match for the devil, they grew weary of his friendship; and it fortunately turned out that on departing with his wheat he took the road from Lúghmân to Báríkâb, which is proverbially intricate, and where he lost his road, and has never been heard of or seen since. The portion of the road to this day retains the name of Shaitân Gúm, or the place where the devil lost his way.

Between it and Lúghmân is a locality called

Bâdpash, remarkable for the current of air which constantly drives there. In my time, Máhomed Akbár Khan, with his troops, returning from a foray on the Sáhibzâda Uzbíns, was caught in a wind-tempest at the place, and he and they were as nearly blown away as the devil had been before them. The force was overwhelmed in the elemental strife, and broken up. Several persons perished, with their horses. Many were found afterwards, and slain by the Sáhibzâda Uzbíns.

From Pashai I made one long march to Darúnta, and thence the next day passed on to Tátang. Besides the trips and excursions I have noted in this work, I had during this year thoroughly explored the valley of Jelálabád, abounding in interesting monuments, as tumuli, mounds, caves, &c.

Having turned my attention to the side of Kabâl, before finally leaving the lower countries, I made yet another short excursion to Múrkhí Khél, at the foot of the Saféd Koh, to ascertain if it were true, as affirmed by rumour, that a tope existed there. I made one march from Tátang, passing through Nimla, and reached the place by evening, where I was civilly received by a malek, whose house was immediately adjacent to the monument. He was very willing that I should examine it; and I have ever since been much chagrined that I did not at the time do so, as this is one of the objects which, when in my power, I neglected, while subsequent events

prevented my again giving it my personal attention. The monument was in style of construction, and as regards appearance, the miniature type of the superior tope at Hidda; I therefore had little doubt as to its age; but I had hoped, from the nature of its relics, if it fortunately contained any, to have been enabled to have speculated upon the precise character of the two structures, which the costly and diversified deposits obtained from the Hidda monument scarcely permitted. I had a strong impression that the latter edifice might be due to one of those princes whose coins we possess, and which we call Indo-Sassanian, and my visit to Múrkhí Khél tended to confirm me in my conceit.

That the spot had been anciently appropriated to the reception of the dead of some peculiar race or sect, was sufficiently intelligible from the surprising quantities of human bones strewing the surface in certain places. These were in such number that the walls separating the several plots of soil were formed of them. To answer this purpose they were, of course, entire, and it was impossible to imagine that they had ever been subjected to the action of fire. They might, indeed, have been interred; and it was necessary to suppose so, or to conjecture that at Múrkhí Khél we had fallen upon a spot where the old Guebre inhabitants of the country deposited their corpses. I was inclined to the latter opinion, because some fifteen or sixteen copper coins I pro-

cured here, picked up amongst the bone localities, were all Indo-Sassanian. When I reflected for the moment that the monies might or might not be as essential a provision to a Guebre corpse as to one which was destined to cremation, another fact well explained their presence.

At Nokar Khél, about three miles north, or lower down on the plain, entire skeletons are and have been frequently found. Around their ancle-bones were originally tied trinkets, coins, or tokens of some kind; of which the present inhabitants are so aware that upon detecting a new subject they never fail minutely to examine its lower extremities, and are generally rewarded by some trifle; sometimes they obtain articles of value. In these days Múrkhí Khél is a delightful locality, comprising the two sides of a spacious glen, down which flows a fine rivulet. There is a village called by that name, of about fifty houses, and several small hamlets, castles, and towers, together forming an aggregate of nearly three hundred houses. My friend, the malek, told me that there were about one hundred vineyards. Although the temperature is low, they have two harvests, one of wheat in the spring, and another of gâll and júár in the autumn. The latter is so productive, that I was assured a chárak and half of seed yielded in return a kharwâr of grain. About two miles east of Múrkhí Khél, also at the foot of the hills, is Zoár,

famed for the multitude of its vineyards and orchards; west of it is Mámá Khél, where resides Mír Afzil Khân, who I have before had occasion to mention. Múrkhí Khél is, moreover, situated at a point where a road leads over the Saféd Koh range to the Jájí country.

During my stay here—and the spot had so many attractions that I remained three days—I saw many of the Jájís, who seemed to make the house and tower of my malek their seráí. They were a shade more rude in manners than the people on the northern skirts of the Saféd Koh, and these are not very refined. Their dress is peculiar, a kind of cap being used in place of the lúnghí, or turban, and their pantaloons fitting closely to the legs, while the lower portions are highly ornamented with needlework. An intelligent youth, Nasrúlah, who knew more about his own country, or had a better way of communicating his knowledge than any other of his countrymen I conversed with, after having satisfied my inquiries, demanded in return, a távíz, or written charm, to soften the hearts of Gúl Khân and his wife Tanai, who objected to give him their daughter, his kanghâl, or sweetheart, with the musical name of Gúlsimma.

The subordinate hills of the Saféd Koh are in the neighbourhood of Murkhí Khél interesting, as containing steatite, prase, and other magnesian minerals, while they are clothed with forests of

pine-trees. From all the accounts I gathered, this celebrated range has an abrupt descent upon the plains of the opposite province of Khúram. On our return we came down upon Nokar Khél, near which is a tumulus, of large dimensions. The people of the vicinity hearing of the operations carried on upon the topes and tumuli near Jelálabád, considered it might be profitable to ascertain the contents of the edifice in question, and parties, in turns, commenced their labours at the summit. In four or five days they grew discouraged, and desisted.

From Nokar Khél we passed on to Nimla, where, the evening being far advanced, we halted for the night. The next morning we crossed the undulating country to Bálla Bâgh, and fording the Súrkh Rúd, again reached Tátang, having now nothing farther to do than to make the best of our way to Kâbal. Accordingly we started, having as escort Abdúlah, brother of the malek at Jigdillik, from which place we took the route of Híra Manzí, leading over a very high hill, but the road good, so that it is not requisite to dismount, and came down directly into the valley of Tézín. Here we did not halt, but for a few minutes; on resuming our road, we crossed the Haft Kotal, and traversing the table-space beyond, eventually reached Terikkí, where we passed the night with some Ahmed Zai Ghiljís, who dwell in tents there. Here were the remains of a

Chaghatai castle, and the fragments of marly rock everywhere strewing the surface of the soil were full of fossilized shells. In the morning we passed, in the distance to our left, the village of Khúrd Kâbal, and crossed the range which separated us from the Kâbal valley, descending upon the tope and village of Kamarí. Hence we struck across the plain, and reached in safety my old quarters in the Bálla Hissár.

CHAPTER XIII.

Dost Máhomed Khân's intention to assume royalty.—Views and opinions of parties.—Súltân Máhomed Khân's departure.—Day of inauguration. — Ceremony. — Exhortations.—Remarks of his subjects.—Dost Máhomed Khân's demeanour.—His justification. —Preparations for the war.—The khân múlla's dexterity.—Plunder of the Hindús. — Máhomed Osmân Khân's address. — Dost Máhomed Khân's intentions. — Extortion from Máhomedans.—Death of Sabz Alí.—Amount of exactions.—March of troops.—Hâjí Khân's departure.—State of the season.—Mirza Uzúr.—Máhomed Kúli Khân.—Progress to Jelálabád.—Robbers at Séh Bábá.—Jigdillik.—Necessity of Máhomed Kúlí Khân. — Gandámak. — Darúnta. — Death of Náib Yár Máhomed. —Letters from Lúdiána. — Equivocal nature of employment. — Incivility of the nawâb.—Saiyad Keramat Alí's departure.—His tactics.—His intentions.—His assault on Ranjit Singh. — Delicate duties. — Evils of Saiyad Keramat Ali's conduct. — Afghân notions of official etiquette.

At Kâbal the public mind was much occupied by the preparations making for the announced crusade against the Síkhs, and by the understood intention of Dost Máhomed Khân to assume the dignity of pádshâh. Hâjí Khân, who, previous to his departure from Kâbal, proposed this step, now on his return again recommended it, as did Mírza Samí Khân, and others. The relatives of the sirdár

were unanimously opposed to it, urging, that it was unbecoming and impolitic; but since the deaths of Amír Máhomed Khân, and Máhomed Réhim Khân, the Amín-a-Múlkh, there were none amongst them to whose opinions he judged it necessary to pay deference. It was therefore decided upon, and the day for the ceremony of inauguration fixed. Súltân Máhomed Khân, with his brother, Pír Máhomed Khân, were living at Kâbal, on no very friendly terms with Dost Máhomed Khân. The latter omitted no opportunity, by taunt or sarcasm, to annoy Súltân Máhomed Khân; he possessed himself of his guns, muskets, and other military munitions, which were surrendered because it was known that, otherwise, they would have been forcibly taken. The two brothers, notwithstanding many defections happened amongst their followers, still maintained a large proportion of troops, and Súltân Máhomed Khân was willing, in concert with his friends, to have drawn the sword and braved the chances of a struggle with his brother. On one occasion he actually left the city and proceeded to the Afshár castles, but admittance was refused to him. Had he been received he would have displayed his standard, and been joined by those in his interest or in the plot, and Kâbal, for a few days, whoever had been the victor, might have exhibited, as of old, instructive scenes of tumult. Now that the inauguration of Dost Máhomed Khân was about to take place, Súltân Máhomed Khân did not choose

either to assist or to be present at the ceremony. He therefore obtained permission to proceed to Bájor, to induce Mír Alam Khân to co-operate in the warfare against the Síkhs, and left Kâbal, having obtained a sum of money from Dost Máhomed Khân for his expenses. The day at length arrived when the chief of Kâbal proposed to elevate himself above his brothers, by the assumption of a new title, and superior degree of rank. It was ushered in with no expressions of joy, and there were no discharges of artillery to announce to the inhabitants of the city that their chief was about to invest himself with regal authority. Towards evening, Dost Máhomed Khân, leaving the Bálla Hissár, proceeded to the Id Gâh, near Síáh Sang, where many, but not all, of his relatives and chiefs attended, with the eldest son of Mír Wais. The latter officiated as primate; and repeating prayers, placed two or three blades of grass in the turban of Dost Máhomed Khân, proclaiming him Pádshâh, with the title of Amír al Momanín, or commander of the faithful. Then, turning to the crowds around, and alluding to the holy war the amír intended to wage with the infidels, he informed them, it was the duty of every Mússulmân, by voluntary contribution, to assist in the promotion of so righteous a cause to the extent of his power. Abdúl Samad scattered a few rupees amongst the crowd, which then began to disperse, the amír's relatives, and other chiefs, taking the road to the city by the Derwâza

Lahorí, while he, and some half a dozen particulars, returned to the Bálla Hissár by the road he went. There were immense crowds collected from the city, both of Máhomedans and Hindús, probably in expectation of witnessing some display of pomp and ceremony, and they returned to their homes disappointed, as there really was little to be seen.

I was sitting on the summit of a small eminence, called Tappa Khâk Balkh, within gun-shot of the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid, as the newly-created amír passed along the road, separated from the tappa by the breadth of a cultivated field. Some of his horsemen galloping over it, he cried out to them, not to ride over the raiyat's grain. One of those near me observed, "Do you hear the scoundrel? How soon he evinces solicitude about his raiyats." Another party, of six or seven persons, broke up as he came near, saying one to the other that he was a bacha Kâballi, or lad of Kâbal, and if he saw them sitting together he would fancy that each of them had a bottle of wine under his cloak. For some days after this event the darbár was frequently the scene of much mirth, if not of buffoonery. It had formerly been the custom in addressing the chief to call him Sirdár, it now became fit that he should be styled Amír Sáhib, and it was settled that any one who should be guilty of a *lapsus linguæ* should forfeit a rupee. The people who recommended Dost Máhomed

Khân to proclaim himself pádshâh, it was supposed, did so under the idea that he would not, a slave to etiquette, interest himself so much in the management of affairs, leaving a little more to their discretion. In this they were grievously disappointed, for not only did his plainness of manner and easiness of access continue as before, but he seemed to give more personal attention to business than ever. Inspecting some new gun-carriages, made under orders of Abdúl Samad, he inquired for the wood and nails of the old ones. Abdúl Samad submitted that it was derogatory in a pádshâh to ask about such trifles. The amír told him that he was altogether mistaken, for it behoved him to look after them as they would come into use. If the amír himself had any reasons for putting on a superior title beyond the petty ones of mortifying his relatives, and gratifying at a costless rate his own vanity, they may be found in the opinions held by Afghâns in general, that in combats, whether for political or religious ends, it is becoming to fight under the standard of a sovereign, as in that case the reward of martyrdom is certainly secured to the slain. It is also agreeable to Afghân ideas, that an individual who has discomfited a pádshâh, as Dost Máhomed Khân had done Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, should himself assume the dignity he is supposed fairly to have won. It was, moreover, alleged by his supporters that he merely revived the pretensions and claims of the Bárak Zai family, as set

forth by his ancestor, Hâjí Jamâl, who proclaimed himself pádshâh, and struck coin, previous to the acknowledgment of the Sadú Zai family, in the person of Ahmed Shâh; and, it was asserted, that the claims of the Bárak Zais by lying dormant had not become superseded. The more cogent of the arguments advanced by his friends, however, was the necessity of the moment. As for Dost Máhomed Khân, he said, and always afterwards insisted, that Hâjí Khân, Mírza Samí, the khân múlla, with the whole horde of múllas, and of the religious classes, forced him to take up the title. There was an amusing contention amongst the ingenious mírzas to provide fit mottoes for the official seal of the amir, and for the new rupee it was intended to strike. In both instances Mírza Samí Khân bore the palm from his competitors. While these proceedings were in train, the important conflict before them was not lost sight of by the amír and his friends. They began seriously to think on the means of prosecuting it, and how and where to obtain money engrossed all their attention. It may have been hoped that voluntary contributions would have spared the amír the trouble and odium of making extortions, but it was clear that, however the Máhomedans of Kâbal were attached to their religion, they were quite as partial to their gold, and no one thought of offering it in support of the great cause of which the amír avowed himself the champion.

With respect to the Hindús, the khân múlla's sagacity discovered a sacred text admirably adapted to their case, as well as to the circumstances of the amír. It set forth, that it was lawful to seize the wealth of infidels, provided the wealth so seized was employed in repelling the aggressions of infidels. Now, as Ranjit Singh had clandestinely acquired Pesháwer during the absence of the amír at Kândahár, and to recover Pesháwer was the object of the amír's present expedition, it was clear that Ranjit Singh was the aggressor; and in engaging in a defensive war against the infidel, it became obviously consistent with divine sanction that the amír should supply his necessities from the funds of his Hindú subjects. Had the amír possessed a single doubt of conscience it must have been allayed by the sound deductions of the khân múlla. The Hindú shikárpúrís, or bankers of the city, were sent for, and being informed they were prisoners until they had arranged to contribute three lákhs of rupees, were made over to the custody of Hâjí Khân. Officers were despatched over all parts of the country in search of Hindús, and to secure those who had wealth. Shamsodín Khân was enjoined to look after those of Ghazní; and Máhomed Akbar Khân zealously fulfilled his instructions regarding those of the province of Jelálabád. Many fell into the hands of their pursuers, many contrived to hide themselves, but the houses and visible property of all were

plundered throughout the country. In the city only the principal suffered. The petty sirdárs and jághírdárs imitated the salutary example set them by the amír. Hâjí Khân by his agents despoiled the Hindús of Cháhár Bâgh of Lúghmân; and Máhomed Osmân Khân repaired to Bálla Bâgh, where he seized all the Hindús, having dexterously induced them, by letters assuring them of protection, to remain in their houses until he arrived. Subsequently, when the amír passed Bálla Bâgh in his way eastward, he inquired of Máhomed Osmân Khân how much money he had procured for him from his Hindús. The reply was, none, as they had given him the slip, and secreted themselves under the Saféd Koh.

Many times afterwards the amír would ask about the Hindús of Bálla Bâgh, and Máhomed Osmân Khân as constantly averred he knew nothing of them. In course of time, it proved that they had, all the while, been detained in close custody at Bálla Bâgh; and when they were discovered and produced before the amír, it was lamentable to witness the trim in which they appeared. The amír could not get any of the money taken from these particular Hindús by Máhomed Osmân Khân, but he compelled him to give them bills for the amount, and soothed them by the hopes of having the sums taken from them repaid. The hunting over the country for Hindús continued long after snow had fallen, and when the

hiding-places of any of them were brought to light messengers were instantly despatched to seize the fugitives. The Shikárpúrís did not long remain in durance; sensible they had no hope to escape the demands made upon them, they tendered a smaller amount, and after some debate, in which Hâjí Khân professed himself their friend, a sum a little beyond two lákhs of rupees was accepted from them, for which the amír gave them his bonds for repayment. It must be noted, that whatever monies were taken on this occasion may rather be considered as compulsory loans than as absolute extortions, it being the intention, if affairs prospered, to repay them. The amír walked in the footsteps of his profligate brother, Fatí Khân, who, notorious for the unscrupulous manner in which he replenished his coffers, and met his pecuniary exigencies, was also as celebrated for the punctuality with which he repaid the sums he forcibly borrowed, whenever able to do so; whence, although as unprincipled a man as perhaps ever lived, he ultimately acquired the honourable reputation of being a "sáhib ítawâh," or a man of his word, and trustworthy. The financial operations of the amír were not confined to his Hindú subjects, but included within their compass the more opulent of the Máhomedan merchants, as well as many individuals politically suspected, or obnoxious. Sabz Alí, a merchant, from whom thirty thousand rupees were asked, expired under

the tortures applied to him, at which the amír expressed, and probably in truth, much regret, as he did not desire the death of the man, but his money. He was not well pleased, however, that the accident should set aside his claim, and dealing with the conjuncture in the best way he could, compelled the relatives of the unfortunate man to ransom his corpse. Neither did the amír on this occasion spare his own wives. From some of them he obtained jewels to a considerable amount; and his mode of treatment with these fair subjects varied according to their dispositions. From the timid, a slight menace, or peremptory command would be sufficient; for others, his vows to abstain from conjugal intercourse until his demands were satisfied, in the end proved successful. Besides all these various means, he levied two years' jezía, or capitation-tax, on the Hindús throughout the country, and anticipated the receipt of a year's revenue on the town duties of Kâbal. It was supposed that he had made extraordinary collections to the amount of nearly five lákhs of rupees, and having expended two lákhs in unavoidable expenses, and in marching his army from Kâbal, took with him into the field funds to the amount of three lákhs of rupees. The troops had been for some time, in succession, despatched to Jelálabád, and in the latter end of February the amír followed them, leaving Mírza

Samí Khân, and the Nawâb Jabár Khân to obtain money on jewels which he had procured from his wives; the mírza to act as agent in negociating the loan, and the nawâb to act as guarantee that the jewels should not be claimed before the sums advanced on them were paid.

On the 5th of March Hâjí Khân left the Bálla Hissár to join the Amír. His departure was signalized by the scattering of copper money amongst the populace, who were loud in the praises of sakhí, or generous, Hâji Khân. On reaching the ziárat Shâh Shêhid, whither the crowd followed him, he halted, and, extending his hands, implored a benediction; then abruptly saluting the by-standers with one of his best Salám alíkams, cantered off for Bhút Khâk. He was entirely alone, and wrapped in a postín, his people having preceded him.

This season presented a strange but favourable contrast to the last. Snow had fallen in the beginning of December, but it had gradually disappeared, and the weather was beautiful and mild. The new year, 1835, commenced most auspiciously, and spring seemed to have taken the place of winter. During the month of February the flowers of Noh Roz made their appearance, as did swallows; and it was matter of congratulation that the winter had passed. On the night of the 26th February a smart shower of snow destroyed these expectations, and some cold weather succeeded, but still

not to be compared to the rigour of the preceding year; neither did the snow fall in such quantity as to remain long on the surface.

I had for some time been thinking of proceeding to Jelálabád, and now arranged to go in company with Mírza Uzúr, Hâjì Khan's chief secretary, and one of my Bámián acquaintance. The 7th of March was the day fixed, and when I sent to the mírza to inquire if he was ready to start, he replied that he wanted ten rupees to redeem his cooking-utensils, lodged with one of his creditors. As I had no mind to delay, I sent him the sum required, and presently after he came, and we rode on to Bhút Khâk, and occupied the samúches. The mírza had eight or ten small but active nags. It had rained, in a drizzling manner, all the way from Kâbal, and, now and then, a flake of snow fell. In the morning the same kind of weather continued, and I wished to move on, but the mírza said it was indispensable that he should send a man back to the city for hinna, to dye the tails and hoofs of his horses, as it was ungenteel to travel with them in a colourless state. We were, therefore, detained this day at the samúches. In the evening we were joined by Máhomed Kúlí Khân, the only surviving son of the Vazír Fatí Khân, who had a party of about forty horse, besides his laden cattle. He occupied a samúch, contiguous to ours. The weather was too threatening to allow us to march, and we were, therefore, against our wills, detained an-

other day here. In the evening, with Mírza Uzúr, I supped with Máhomed Kúlí Khân. I found him a handsome youth, of nineteen or twenty years of age, but with a peculiar cast of features, having a long acquiline nose and pointed chin. He was very intelligent, but, it was easy to perceive, libertine and dissipated. He formerly resided with his uncles at Péshawer, who allowed him twenty thousand rupees per annum. On their expulsion, he came of necessity to Kâbal, where his excesses were not so indulgently viewed by the amír, and he was told, that, to secure favour, he must reform his course of life, and dismiss his evil associates. I suspect these conditions were rather too difficult to be complied with, and his contumacy afforded the amír a pretext for behaving very parsimoniously towards his nephew. Máhomed Kúlí Khân is one of two brothers, the only sons the vazír had, and they were by a celebrated Kinchiní, named Bâghí, whom he married. Sirbalend Khân, the elder, is said to have been a promising youth, and met his death accidentally in the Bâgh Shâh at Kâbal, amusing himself with the jeríd, or exercise of the lance. Endeavouring to transfix an apple on the ground, his weapon rebounded and pierced his breast. He lingered a few days and died. We sat a long time in chat with Máhomed Kúlí Khân, and on parting it was agreed that we should be companions on the road. The next day being fine and clear, we started, and taking the road of Sokhta

Chanár, we halted on the rivulet below Tézín. Just before reaching our ground we fell in with a party of robbers, but they filed over the hills leading to Tézín. During the night our chokís, or guards, were kept on the *qui-vive*, I suppose by these very fellows, but we lost nothing. The following morning we proceeded down the valley, and met a large Afghân kâfila. We learned that a band of about thirty Sáhibzâda Uzbín robbers were stationed at the zíárat Séh Bábá, a little in advance; that they had not ventured to assail the kâfila, the men belonging to it being Afghâns, and too numerous. We had scarcely passed these when we met a smaller kâfila, also Afghân, who informed us that they had been attacked, but had preserved their property at the expense of three of their men being wounded. Of this we had ocular evidence in the poor fellows bathed in blood. It was a sad pity we had not reached five minutes earlier. Máhomed Kúlí Khân, Mírza Uzúr, and myself, with about fifteen horsemen, soon reached Séh Bábá, where we drew up, that the rest of our party might join. We descried a fellow skulking on the summit of one of the eminences in our front, but on our hailing him he decamped. He was the spy of the robbers, who, no doubt, were in ambush close by us. We were too strong to be attacked, and it is never part of the system of these thieves to commit themselves with horsemen.

Our whole party assembled, we placed our bag-

gage in front, and ascended the undulating sandstone eminences intervening between Séh Bábá and Báríkâb. We rested awhile at the latter place, and then resumed our journey to Jigdillik, where we halted in the garden. We saw none of the inhabitants here, as they had removed, for the season, or perhaps to escape the visit of troops, to a valley lower down, called Perí Dara (the fairy's vale). I received an intimation at this place that I should be applied to on the part of Máhomed Kúlí Khân for money, as it appeared that the son of the vazír was pennyless; and I had authorized my servant, if such a request were made, without speaking to me, to give, as if from himself, a small sum. Ghúlám Alí, the maternal uncle of the young khân, in due time represented his necessities, and my servant gave ten rupees, which sufficed to procure provender, and other little necessaries they needed. In mentioning this circumstance I must not be thought to convey an imputation on my companion, who, so far from being intrusive, or greedy of the property of another, was liberal to prodigality. He was destitute as to money, yet still would have given me anything of what he possessed, and I had difficulty to refuse little things he was continually sending me. From Jigdillik the next day we marched on to Gandamak; and it proved that two sisters of Máhomed Kúlí Khân were in the vicinity, one residing permanently at Mámá Khél, with her husband, Mír Afzil Khân,

the other, a wife of Máhomed Zemân Khân, temporarily occupying a castle near Gandamak. He had frequently boasted to me on the road that he should be at home on reaching Gandamak. The sister there sent her little boy to his uncle with a present of fruit, and shortly after came a sheep, with other necessaries. A messenger from Mámá Khél brought a gentle reproach from the sister there on account of Máhomed Kúlí not having visited her. The next day, taking leave of the vazír's son and Mírza Uzúr for the present, I, with my party, took the road to Bálla Bâgh, and passing it, as well as the nawâb's castle of Tátang, we reached Darúnta in the evening. It was with much regret that I heard the news of my good friend the Náib Yár Máhomed having departed this life but a few days before. He spoke frequently of me in his last sickness, and said his ill-fortune detained me at Kâbal, or had I been present I should have given him medicine, and cured him. He was succeeded as náib of the Ghiljís by his son, Ghúlám Rasúl Khân. Before I had left Kâbal I had seen the Nawâb Jabár Khân; and aware that it had been arranged that he should proceed to Bájor, I had concerted to accompany him, purposing to remain there for some time, and examine the country and its neighbourhood. The nawâb, having effected his political objects, would of course return. I had sent one of my young men to Tátang to see if the nawâb had reached from Kâbal, and he brought me a message

that one of that nobleman's kâsids, just arrived from Lúdíána, was the bearer of letters for me. This took me to Tátang the next morning, and a letter was put into my hand from Captain Wade, the political agent at Lúdíána, informing me that the government, at his recommendation, had been pleased to appoint me their agent for communicating intelligence in these quarters.

Whatever my feelings were on this occasion, it is unnecessary for me to obtrude them on public attention. I might have supposed it would have been only fair and courteous to have consulted my wishes and views before conferring an appointment which compromised me with the equivocal politics of the country, and threw a suspicion over my proceedings, which did not before attach to them. I might have also lamented that I should be checked in the progress of antiquarian discovery, in which I was engaged, and I might reflect whether the positive injury I suffered in this respect was compensated by the assurance that his lordship, the governor-general in council, "anticipates that the result of your employment will be alike useful to government and honourable to yourself."

The messenger who brought the letter for me had delivered a packet to the nawâb, from his son and the persons in his train at Lúdíána. I knew not the nature of their communications, but this nobleman, who had hitherto been so assiduous in his attentions and civility, treated me with such

marked rudeness, that I abruptly left him, and without taking leave mounted my horse. This was the first fruit of my new appointment; nor was it until some time after his return to Kâbal that our intercourse was carried on in the same friendly manner as before. To do the nawâb justice, when he found that he had been deceived, or that he had misunderstood matters, his concessions and apologies were ample.

I have before noticed Saiyad Keramat Alí, and the dilemma from which he was relieved by the death of Amír Máhomed Khân. It appeared that, in consequence of disagreement with Captain Wade, he had requested permission to return to India, which was granted, and Mohan Lâl, the Hindú múnshí, and companion of Lieutenant Burnes in his travels, was appointed to succeed him. The saiyad, however, on the return of Dost Máhomed Khân to Kâbal, with the view of maintaining his position until the time fixed for his departure, adopted a new line of tactics, and fell in heartily with all the projects of the politicians of Kâbal as to alliances with the British government, while he imputed his misdeeds relating to the correspondence with Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh, to the known wishes of Captain Wade, however they had proved contrary to those entertained by the government. Previous to his departure he had procured a document, sealed by a number of persons, calling upon the government to depute an envoy to Kâbal, and that envoy to be

either Captain Burnes or Captain Conolly; and when he finally left he vowed that he would procure the removal of Captain Wade from Lúdíána, or be himself sent across the kâla pâní (black water), that is, be transported.

He had also other wrathful intents; in consequence of which, when at Lahore, he rejected the presents tendered by Ranjit Singh, and commanded him to desist from his aggressions on the Afghâns. Finding the Máhárájá not perfectly compliant, he stroked his beard, and swore he would play the deuce with him when he got to Calcutta. The old prince, terrified, applied to Captain Wade at Lúdíána for protection against the saiyad.

The first duty I had to discharge was to set the various parties at Kâbal right with the political agent—no easy matter—and "to *correct* any *misconceptions* which the nawâb may be *inclined* to form from his (the saiyad's) representations;"—again a difficult task—for as Captain Wade also wrote, "I could hardly have credited the accounts which I have received of his intrigues since he went to Cabúl, had I not myself acquired an insight into his *transactions* at that place, both while he was there and since his return, that clearly proves his *deceitful* conduct, and the *gross* subterfuges to which he can have recourse to serve his own mischievous designs. The impositions which he has been practising on the nawâb are, I understand, of the most glaring nature. His removal from Cabúl must be regarded as a for-

tunate event. There is no knowing the extent to which he might have involved the interests of government had he remained. His sole object while there seems to have been to deceive the Barak Zais into an extravagant belief of his own importance, at the expense, if possible, of the just influence of his immediate superior. He was long ago warned by me not to interfere in the affairs of the chiefs, whoever they might be; that his duty was merely that of a reporter of passing events. Such an interdiction was likely to be very intolerable to his intriguing disposition; and considering his irritable temper, much of his real or affected discontent, rancour, and malice, towards every one who has at all interfered with him, may, no doubt, be ascribed to my detection of his attempts to impose on the credulity of these people." Farther, "The nawâb and all his relatives and retainers, ought now to be convinced of their extreme folly and weakness, in trusting to the specious words and promises of their unworthy adviser, Keramat Alí. The governor-general has desired me to inform the nawâb, that he cannot recognize the saiyad as a proper channel of communication, and has not replied, therefore, to the letters of which he was the bearer. I have done so, and will thank you to reiterate the injunction, as well as to point out to the nawâb and his family the propriety of confining their correspondence to the prescribed channel of the officer charged

with the conduct of the intercourse existing between the two states, and to send copies, as ordered, of all letters that he may desire to send to other quarters."

It will be seen that the commencement of my official labours was under auspicious circumstances. I never took the trouble to ascertain, precisely, what the saiyad had done,—that he had done a little I have shown, and I found that he had bound the nawâb, and many other persons, to support him by oaths on the Korân. I treated the matter less seriously than did Captain Wade, and in the course of two or three months, by the assistance of friends, had succeeded to put the nawâb, and others, in a more friendly disposition. An evil, greater in my estimation than the irritation occasioned to Captain Wade, arose from the political lessons given by the saiyad to Dost Máhomed Khân, and the principal people at Kâbal, for he instructed them not as things were, but as he fancied them to be; this was unfortunate, and so was his connexion with the Persian adventurer, Abdúl Samad; and his errors here were afterwards felt in their effects. I had also no small trouble in inculcating the propriety of compliance with Captain Wade's notions of the etiquette to be observed in correspondence with himself and the government; and I remembered that, in Saiyad Keramat Alí's time, some objections had been made to the mode in which letters were

despatched from Kâbal, it being insisted they should be put in proper envelopes, and then enclosed in silken bags. This produced some merriment in the darbár, where many thought that, as Afghâns, their letters might reasonably enough be forwarded under felt covers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Attempt to assassinate the Amír.—His anxiety.—Letter from the governor-general. — Views of the government, and of Captain Wade. — Commencement of communications with Persia.—Máhomed Hússén.—Allah Yár Khân's letter.—The Amír's progress. — His prayer at Alí Bâghân.—Prognostications.—Dreams. — Mr. Harlan's mission. — Súltân Máhomed Khân's letter.— Pír Máhomed Khân intercepted.—Deputation of the nawâb.—Junction of Súltân Máhomed Khân. — Khaibar chiefs. — Ranjit Singh's movements. — Negotiations. — Truce.—The Amír's cunning.— Rage of Pír Máhomed Khân. — Committal of Pír Máhomed Khân. — Various counsels.—Arrival of Ranjit Singh. — His energy and dispositions. — Mission to the Afghân camp.—Amír decides on retreat.—Proposals to Súltân Máhomed Khân.—Sikh envoys made over to Súltân Máhomed Khân. — Retreat of the Amír.—Arrival in Khaibar.—Súltân Máhomed Khân's conduct. —Search for Súltân Máhomed Khân.—Letters from Súltân Máhomed Khân. — Disposal of the army. — Return of the Amír to Kâbal. — Mírza Sami Khân's wrath. — Evils of the Amír's injudicious policy.

On our road from Kâbal a courier had informed us of an attempt to assassinate the new amír in the camp at Jelálabád. The offender proved to be a man once in the service of Fatí Máhomed Khân, the father-in-law to the nawâb. Máhomed Kúlí Khân justly observed, that the loss of the amír at such a crisis would be a great evil. Whatever may have been Dost Máhomed Khân's suspicions as to

the inciters of the intended crime, he did not judge fit to express them at this juncture, and the assassin himself was, I believe, suffered to go unpunished.

At Jelálabád the amír was sufficiently employed; and Mírza Samí Khân drew up plans for the disposition of the army in the conflict which was to take place with the infidel Síkhs. There is little doubt that the amír began to distrust his vaunted power for the expulsion of his foes from Pesháwer by force of arms, and would have been glad, by any fair pretext, to have been enabled to withdraw from the contest, and on this account he anxiously looked for replies to letters he had addressed to Captain Wade and to the British government. I am not aware of the nature of these letters, but can readily imagine they were numerous enough. I sometimes saw the nawâb, but, under his irritated feelings, to very little profit; and sometimes I saw Mírza Samí Khân, who was civil, but asserted, that until informed by the nawâb he did not know that Saiyad Keramat Alí's actions were disapproved of by Captain Wade.

While the army was yet at Jelálabád a letter was received from the governor-general. It was opened with expectations far from realized by the contents. The amír merely smiled, Mírza Samí Khân felt much surprised that no answer had been given to what he considered the essential point, affirmed that the liveliest hopes had been entertained, and that the matter was one which could

have been easily arranged by the British government. The nawâb was very wrath,—avowed that the government was pleased that the Afghâns should be exterminated; and his sentiments being re-echoed by his friends about him, I was glad to get away from them.

The governor-general's letter, which would have been a very good one at another time, had now arrived *mal-à-propos*. Subsequently, after the amír's brief and fruitless campaign had terminated, and he had returned to Kâbal, I received a letter from Captain Wade, explanatory of his own views and those of the government at this period, which now there can be no harm to disclose, and that cannot be better done than in the political agent's own words :—

"With regard to the anxiety of the amír and his brother for the arrival of an answer to their letter, soliciting the mediation of the British government to settle their quarrel with the Síkhs, the letters which I despatched to them on the 6th of March will have prepared these chiefs for the *reluctance* which is felt by our government to become a party in such an affair. I regret the result *sincerely*, and endeavoured to avoid, by submitting a proposition, which if approved, would in its effects have, in all probability, secured Dost Máhomed Khân's present object, and laid the foundation of an alliance between him and our government bene-

ficial to the interests of both parties, without disgusting Ranjit Singh or compromising the obligations of friendship due to him. Government, however, has taken a different view of the subject, and it behoves us, therefore, to try and establish by *other* means that influence in Afghânistân which it is our object to obtain.

"In the letter of the governor-general, which will probably have been shown to you, a plain declaration is made to Dost Máhomed Khân and his brothers, of the desire of the British government to form a close connexion with them by an interchange of *commercial* advantages. They are not likely, at first sight, to discern the benefits which they will *assuredly* derive, in a *political* point of view, from an alliance formed on such a basis, and may, in their indignation at the apparent indifference with which our government has regarded their application for assistance against the Síkhs, think that nothing but a motive *purely selfish* has dictated the counter-proposition which we have offered; but I need not observe to you, that should Dost Máhomed Khân be disposed to encourage our *ostensible* object, a *real* advantage may be gained by him, as concerns the future importance and strength of his government, by entering *heartily* into such a connexion with our government as his lordship's letter has indicated.

"I herewith enclose copies of the letters which

I have just addressed both to the nawâb and the amír, which will give you some insight into my sentiments. It is impossible for me to exert any *direct* interference with the dispute which is now raging between them and Ranjit Singh, without being authorized to do so by government, but my opinion is, and I have expressed it to Abdúl Ghíás Khân's preceptor and his companion, that the amír should use *every endeavour in his power* to negociate a peace with the Síkhs. He committed great precipitation in bidding defiance to the Máhárájá at the time he did. If determined on hostility, he should have ascertained *beforehand* whether there was any person on whose aid or assistance he could depend, instead of declaring war, and finding himself left to prosecute it with no other resources than his own, when it was too late to retrace his footsteps with credit. Notwithstanding this fatal error, I still anxiously hope that some *means* may be devised by Dost Máhomed Khân, who has, on several occasions nearly as difficult as the present, given such great proofs of the fertility of his genius, to extricate himself, without any serious loss of honour, from his present embarrassing position. I sympathise deeply with him, and though I cannot use the authority of government, the obligation I am under 'of cultivating a good understanding' with him and his family will not make me backward in availing myself of *any opportunities* which my personal in-

fluence may afford me, and of which I may *legitimately* take advantage, of restoring an amicable feeling between him and his ambitious neighbour.

"I generally concur in the truth of the opinions which you have stated, to justify an exertion of British mediation (to put a stop to the contest which has perhaps ere now endangered the political existence of Dost Máhomed Khân), and shall send a copy of the eloquent appeal which you make in his favour to government, with such remarks as appear calculated, in my opinion, to throw light on the proper line of policy which it is our duty to pursue at the present crisis, but I doubt the disposition of the government to involve itself, *at once*, in such direct political alliance as the amír and his *immediate* interests require. The threat of seeking the support of a *rival* power shows that want of foresight for which the Afghâns are proverbial. If they reflect on their relative situation to the British government, they *must* see that such a step *might* prove *more* destructive of their independence than *any* which they could possibly take."

It would be contrary to the plan I propose for observance, to comment upon this letter.

The threat alluded to of seeking the support of a *rival* power was, in some measure, attempted at this very time. Máhomed Hussén, since memorable as having been one of the agents employed by Dost Máhomed Khân, being about to return

to Persia, his native country, requested a letter for the shâh. Máhomed Hússén had for some years resided at Kâbal in the Serai Máhomed Khúmí, engaged in traffic, and bearing a most disreputable character. He had become one of the companions of Saiyad Keramat Ali, and latterly, since Abdúl Samad had been admitted to the amír's confidence, had avowed himself to be a correspondent of Abbás Mírza. I doubted the truth of this statement, and that I was justified in doing so was afterwards evidenced; for, when in Persia, he never announced in his intercourse with any one that he had been so employed, which he would not have failed to do, if only for the purpose of arrogating a little credit to himself. I was not aware of the communication made through Máhomed Hússén at the time: and when I became informed of it I also learned that he had proceeded to Bokhára, and, not seeing his way clear into Persia, remained there. Subsequently, it was again pointed out to me that Máhomed Hússén had carried letters to the Shâh of Persia; and supposing that those written in the Jelálabád camp were designated, I did not pay much attention to the information; and, still later, when a letter from Allah Yár Khân at Meshed apprized the amír of Máhomed Hússén's arrival there, and of his despatch to Tehrân, I suspected it to be a fabrication, not being aware that Máhomed Hússén had returned to Kâbal, and re-

started with fresh credentials. Notwithstanding the marked rudeness of the nawâb to me, when the first letters were given to Máhomed Hússén, I must do him the justice to state, that he refused to be a party to them, and affirmed that he had always advocated a connexion with the British government, and would continue to do so. This fact I learned from others, as well as from himself.

On the 5th of April the amír broke ground from Jelálabád, and by easy marches reached Bassowal. It was clear he lingered on the road, awaiting, possibly, some overtures from the Síkhs, and at Alí Bâghân he was favoured with a letter from Attá Singh, a brother of his former acquaintance, Jai Singh. There also the festival of Id Khúrbàn was celebrated; and the amír, on the occasion, offered up prayers for success in the impending conflict. He exclaimed audibly, of course that he might be heard by those around, that he was a weak fly, about to encounter a huge elephant; that, if it pleased God, the fly could overcome the elephant, and he implored God to grant him victory. Neither did he neglect an appeal to the more profane arts of divination, and Hazáras in the camp, skilful prognosticators of events to come, consulted, agreeably to the custom of their country, the blade-bones of sheep. Many, also, were the dreamers of the army; and the interpretation of their mysterious visions was necessarily made to indicate the elevation of the amír,

and his triumph over his deadly antagonist, Ranjit Singh, variously typified as a serpent, a dragon, or a devil. While such ingenious devices were imagined by the amír, or tolerated by him in others, it is just to observe, that the economy of his camp, and his management of the overflowing hosts of Gházís, were excellent.

It had been understood that Mr. Harlan was deputed from the Síkh camp on a mission to Súltân Máhomed Khân at Bájor; and, while at Bássowal, a letter was received from the latter chief, stating the fact of Mr. Harlan's arrival, and that he had been put to death, while his elephants and property had been made booty. This news created a sensation in the camp, and the multitude exulted that by the act Súltân Máhomed Khân had detached himself from Síkh interests. I had the satisfaction to listen to the "Alamdillahs!" or God be praised! of the nawâb's dependents, who vociferated that, now the brothers had become one, and had wiped away their enmities in Feringhí blood. Mírza Samí Khân, however, pretended to be amazed; it was hard, he said, to believe that Súltân Máhomed Khân had committed so foul an action, yet here was his messenger and his letter. The amír, he said, would have received Mr. Harlan with honour, and have dismissed him in like manner. Whether the letter was really sent by Súltân Máhomed Khân, or fabricated by Mírza Samí Khân, I know not; but a

day or two disclosed that Mr. Harlan's reception had been most flattering, and it afterwards turned out that the amír's brother easily fell in with Síkh views. Mr. Harlan, with reference to the part he now played, said he did not deceive Súltân Máhomed Khân, but allowed him to deceive himself, and, of course, he reported to his employers that the chief was gained over.

Here also joined Pír Máhomed Khân; he had lingered behind at Jelálabád, and now dropped down the river on a float. He probably had intended to have passed on to Lálpúra, and to have joined his brother in Bájor; but the amír, anticipating, or apprized of his project, had stationed people on the river-bank, who compelled him to bring-to. He had, therefore, no other course than to renew his oaths of fidelity to the amír, and to swear that he renounced brotherhood with Súltân Máhomed Khân, should he make arrangements with the Síkhs without the amír's sanction or concurrence. Accompanying Pír Máhomed Khân were two or three men most obnoxious to the chief of Kâbal, and their countenances too plainly manifested their fears, and they were unwilling sojourners in camp.

From Bássowal the nawâb was allowed to proceed to Bájor, pledging himself to return with Súltân Máhomed Khân and the Bájor levies to Dáka, where the amír proposed to halt for a few days.

When the army marched from Bássowal, I re-

turned to Jelálabád, where I resided with an old acquaintance, Mírza Agâ Jân. At Dáka, the nawâb, with Súltân Máhomed Khân and Mr. Harlan, returned to camp. The ex-chief of Pesháwer was attended by his own troops and a respectable force from Bájor, under orders of Amír Khân, the cousin of Mír Alam Khân, who was too wary to trust himself in the amír's power. Mr. Harlan did not find the amír so facile as his brother, and was upbraided for his interference in matters which could not concern him, as well as for promoting dissension between him and Súltân Máhomed Khân. Mr. Harlan found it necessary to send the amír a Korân, and to make many promises; in allusion to which Mírza Samí Khân, in a letter to Alladád Khân, the chief of Ták, who had succeeded his late father, Sirwar Khân, remarked, that Mr. Harlan had used many sweet words, but that he was aware that Feringhís were like trees, full of leaves, but bearing no fruit,— an allusion so happy that he sent a copy of the letter to me, if not for my instruction, possibly for that of the political agent at Lúdiána Mr. Harlan, after witnessing a review of the army at Ghágarí, was, no doubt, glad to receive permission to pass over to the Síkh camp, from whence he had come.

In the passage through the defiles of Khaibar many of the maleks, or petty chiefs of Pesháwer, who had been caressed, and appointed to lucra-

tive offices by the Síkhs, forsook them, and repaired to the amír, excusing their defection on the plea of religious zeal. The amír, with his host, finally encamped at Shékhân, in the plain of Pesháwer, resting on the skirts of the Khaibar hills.

Ranjit Singh, it is supposed, was not inclined to believe that the amír would venture to lead his forces into the plain, and, apparently under this belief, although he had left Lahore, seemed to loiter in the country east of the Indus. The tidings that the Afghâns had actually encamped and taken up position at Shékhân, made the Máhárájá accelerate his movements, and he despatched peremptory orders to his sirdárs at Pesháwer to avoid a general action, and await his arrival.

In consequence of such orders, the Síkhs renewed negotiations to amuse the amír until the Máhárájá appeared. The nawâb and one Agá Hússén were diplomatists on the part of the Afghâns; the latter commissioned to watch the conduct of the former, justly suspected by the amír. Agâ Hússén, however, did more, and affirming that he had a complete ascendency over the amír, received three thousand rupees, promising to prevail upon him to return to Kâbal.

At length Súltân Máhomed Khân proceeded to the Síkh camp, where he remained for some time, and through his instrumentality a truce was agreed upon until the arrival of the Máhárájá.

The ex-chief, it is fair to observe, had proposed perfect reconciliation to his brother, provided he would affix his seal to a bond, and engage to make over Pesháwer to him, whether recovered by force of arms or by negotiation. The amír refused, acknowledging that he intended to give Pesháwer to his own son, Máhomed Akbar Khân. Súltân Máhomed Khân then demanded the promise of Jelálabád, which was alike denied. Without hope, therefore, from the justice or generosity of his brother, he considered himself free to further his own interests in any mode and in any quarter.

The amír, conscious of the evil likely to arise from the presence of his brother in the hostile camp, in despite of the existing truce, secretly encouraged his Gházís to attack the Síkhs, dis-honestly hoping thereby to endanger him. Be-tween the Afghân and Síkh armies were nume-rous ravines, and the inequality of surface was favourable to the approaches of the Gházís, and sheltered them from the fire of artillery, so much dreaded. They made several desultory attacks, and even two rather serious ones upon their infidel ene-mies, and brought some heads into camp, together with plunder from tents. They were probably indebted to the orders of the Máhárájá, which reduced the Síkhs to the necessity of awaiting assault, and then merely to stand on the defen-sive. Pír Máhomed Khân on these occasions was, or feigned to be, in great agony. He presented

himself to the amír, and drawing his dagger, threatened to plunge it into his own breast, denouncing the baseness of exciting the Ghάzís to action, with the desire that his brother might be put to death in retaliation. The amír protested that he could not restrain the ardour of his Ghάzís, affected to order that they should not violate the truce, and again encouraged them to do so, and to help themselves to the golden ornaments of the infidels. It was the custom daily to send out a karowal, or advanced guard, commanded by one of the principal chiefs; and when it was Pír Máhomed Khân's tour of duty the amír made such demonstrations as engaged the attention of the Síkhs, and ultimately committed the karowal in conflict. Pír Máhomed Khân was a brave soldier, and creditably acquitted himself; but, in receiving the congratulations of the amír, he did not forget to inveigh against the atrocity of the scoundrel.

The Afghân councils were strangely discordant. Mírza Samí Khân constantly advocated battle, and he was supported by the amír's eldest son, Máhomed Afzil Khân, Hâjí Khân, and others. Hâji Khân consistently proposed a variety of schemes, and wished, with the cavalry of the army, to describe a chirk, or circle, and to intercept the Máhárájá between Atak and Peshάwer. Abdúl Samad professed an irresistible desire to combat, and only demanded that his foe, M. Avitabile, should be

given to him, that he might blacken his face, and parade him through the streets of Kâbal on a jackass. The nawâb and his party insisted that it was useless to contend against the superiority of the Síkhs, and the amír, whatever his boasts, showed that he felt the same.

There are some who think that, had the amír brought on an engagement, the occasion was not unfavourable, and that it was possible he might have dispersed one or two of the Síkh camps, as, while the sirdárs individually would not obey the orders of any one but the Máhárájá, there was a doubt whether, if attacked, they would have assisted each other.

The veteran ruler of Lahore at length appeared in camp, and his presence diffused confidence amongst his troops, and unanimity amongst his sirdárs. Disorder and confusion were converted, as if by magic, into order and regularity, and the energy inspiring the bosom of the chief was communicated to those under his command. An immediate change was directed in the disposition of the army, hitherto dispersed about the village of Búdaní. The camp nearest to the Afghâns remained stationary, to disguise the contemplated movements, while upon it the rest of the army formed in the shape of a semicircle, completely enveloping the Afghân position. The Síkh forces were classed into five camps, their fronts protected by artillery; behind it were sta-

tioned the regular infantry, of which thirty-five battalions were present, and again behind them were the various masses of cavalry.

While arranging his troops for attack, the Máhárájá deputed, in company with Súltân Máhomed Khân, Fáquír Azzízaldín and Mr. Harlan to the amír's camp, with instructions to prevail upon him to retire, and to bring Súltân Máhomed Khân back with them. While the envoys were still urging their suit the amír became informed that his camp was surrounded, and that but one of two alternatives remained to him, to fight, or to retreat without loss of time. He was confounded for the moment. He clearly saw that his enterprise had failed, and that his vigorous antagonist had determined to bring matters to a prompt issue. To engage had perhaps never been his purpose; he was conscious of his inferiority; and when he reasoned, that, by remaining on the ground he at present occupied he ran the chance of losing his guns, munition, stores, and equipage, when he would be reduced to the level of Jabár Khân, Máhomed Zemân Khân, or any other of his relatives, he at once determined to retire, while the opportunity permitted. Of course he consulted in his dilemma with his confidential minister, Mírza Samí Khân, and with one or other of them originated the ingenious idea of carrying off with them Ranjit Singh's envoys, Fáquir Azzízaldín and Mr. Harlan. It was conceited, that the old Sikh chief could scarcely

exist without the fáquír, who officiated as his physician, prepared his drams, and was absolutely necessary to him. It was hoped that Ranjit Singh would be obliged to cede Peshâwer in exchange for the indispensable fáquír, or that, at least, a good round sum would be gained as ransom. Resolved to act upon a suggestion so admirable, it occurred that a degree of odium might attach to a violation of the respect which amongst Afghâns, as amongst all other nations, is conceded to the persons of envoys. The tact of one or the other proposed a means of obviating this difficulty, as regarded themselves, and it was agreed to criminate Súltân Máhomed Khân. That sirdár was accordingly sent for, and the amír, exchanging oaths on the Korân, informed him of what was meditated, and expressed his wishes that, as the elchís came to the camp in his company, so he should carry them off, when everything they wanted would be obtained. Súltân Máhomed Khân, who at once perceived that the amír's object was to gain his point at the expense of his own reputation, and irreparably to ruin him in the estimation of the Síkh ruler, feigned exceedingly to approve the plan, promised entire compliance, and took all the oaths on the Korân required of him, considering them, made under such circumstances, as invalid. The amír summoned the envoys to his presence, and coarsely reproached and reviled them,—foul language with Afghâns being the preliminary step when more violent mea-

sures are contemplated. He made them over to the charge of Súltân Máhomed Khân.

Dost Máhomed Khân had too much experience in Afghân camps not to know that an orderly retreat is almost an impossibility. He did, however, his best to obviate confusion, but could not prevent the greater part of the army bazár from being plundered by his Gházis, now become a disorganized mass, and formidable only to their *quondam* friends. The regular troops were drawn up in line, while the artillery and camp-equipage was borne off, and when it had entered the defiles of Khaibar they retrograded and closed upon the rear. It was evening when the retreat was effected, and it had become dark when the amír reached the heights of Ghâgarí, within the Khaibar hills. There his ears were assailed by the reports of the Síkh salvos, discharged in triumph at his flight, just made known to them. He turned round, and looking towards Peshâwer, uttered an obscene oath, and said, "Ah! you kâfrs, I have taken you in!" referring to the capture of the fáquír and Mr. Harlan, who, as he supposed, were in custody of Súltân Máhomed Khân in the rear.

The latter sirdár, penetrating the evil intentions of his brother, and seeing an opportunity of recommending himself to the favour of Ranjit Singh, in place of carrying off the envoys, escorted them towards their own camp, and having placed them beyond danger, retired to Minchíní, north of the

great river, there to await the decisions of the Máhárájá.

It should have been explained, that the reasons for making free with the persons of the envoys, as advanced by the amír, were, that they should be detained as hostages for the fulfilment of the terms they proposed, which were, that the amír should retire, and that half the territory of Peshá-wer should be restored to Súltân Máhomed Khân. As the amír saw no chance of obtaining the country for himself, he affected to consent to this arrangement, but next demanded some ratification, or some proof of the Máhárájá's liberality towards himself, and representing that he had been put to great expense in putting forth the expedition, suggested that it would only be considerate to give him a few lákhs of rupees by way of nâll-bandí, literally, to pay the charges of shoeing his horses. He protested that he had not come to make war with the Máhárájá, whom he revered as a father, but to make peace. The fáquírs promised that the request should be considered by the Máhárájá, and the amír observed, that the claim was then admitted, and that the elchís should remain with him until it was adjusted, and until Pesháwer had been made over to his brother. The fáquír urged that it was necessary he should return to the Máhárájá to apprise him that his propositions had been accepted, and of the claim for nâll-bandí now advanced by the amír. The latter replied, it was

unnecessary, as all could be done by a short letter. Finally, when the fáquír was weary of offering argument in vain, and hinted at the indelicacy and impropriety of the step the amír seemed to intimate he had decided upon, he was told that the Síkhs were kâfrs, and unlike any other people, as they were breakers of oaths and treaties, therefore anything was fair in dealing with them or with the agents employed by them, although it would not be fair with other people. The amír's march from Shékhân was continued to Jabarghí, and in the morning he sent to enquire where Súltân Máhomed Khân was located, not doubting but that, with his prisoners, he was in camp. The sirdár was not to be found; still the search was continued until about noon, when a courier was announced from Súltân Máhomed Khân. The man produced a letter, addressed to the amír, which commenced with the most violent abuse, and after calling the amír everything that was bad, required that he would instantly dismiss his brother, Pír Máhomed Khân, with his náib, Hâji Khân, and restore all the guns, muskets, and other articles of which the amír had robbed him. Another letter, addressed to Pír Máhomed Khân, informed him that it had come to his (Súltân Máhomed Khân's) knowledge that the amír had concerted to blind him, and that to preserve his eyes he had been compelled to retire. The amír and Mírza Samí Khân were excessively chagrined and mor-

tified, having, besides the failure of their schemes, been duped by Súltân Mâhomed Khân, while they were exposed to odium and ridicule. Indeed, many of those who heard the letter read were obliged to retire from the amír's presence that they might indulge in laughter unrestrained.

The amír had been particularly anxious to preserve the army entire, that he might boast of having retreated with honour, but his utmost efforts could not keep it together. It broke up and dispersed. He had wished to have inspected it at Dáka, but as this was impossible he purposed to assemble it at Jelálabád, and despatched a small guard of horse to Súrkh Púl with orders to turn back any fugitives from the army seeking to reach Kâbal. The first strong body that arrived at Súrkh Púl overpowered the guard, and plundered it of horses, arms, and accoutrements. The amír, in disgust, made no farther attempt to restrain the flight of his men, and eventually reached Kâbal privately by night. For some three or four days he would admit no one to his presence; it was supposed that he felt ashamed. Mírza Samí Khân in like manner secluded himself, reviled the amír for not having fought as he counselled him, broke his kalam-dân, or pen-and-ink case, the badge of his office, and vowed that he would have nothing farther to do with state-affairs. That the amír had acted injudiciously in originating the contest so ingloriously concluded, there can be little doubt.

He had engaged, without allies or resources, in a struggle to which he was unequal, and the consequences of his failure proved a fertile source of subsequent embarrassment to him, while he had thrown away the advantages he possessed, and those which he might have derived from his victory over Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh. He had also discovered that he could not justly calculate upon the religious ardour of the people, for although large numbers of Gházís did join his standard, they were not in the countless myriads he expected, and many of them were from countries independent of his jurisdiction. Having deceived them, as it were, in this expedition, he certainly could not expect that they would attend him on any future occasion.

CHAPTER XV.

The Amír's reproaches.—His projects.—State of Kâbal.—Intrigues and plots.—Retrenchments.—Hâjí Khân's conversations.—The Nawâb's irresolution.—Overtures from Lúdiána.—Their effect at Kâbal.—Results.—Dexterity of Sir John Hobhouse.—Violence of intrigues.—Letter from Captain Wade.—Arrival of Rashíd Akhúndzâda.—Proscription lists.—Rashíd Akhúndzâda's subtlety.—Mírza Samí Khân's retreat.—Precautions of the devoted.—Danger of my situation.—Interviews with the Amír.—Rashíd Akhúndzâda opposes the Amír's plans.—Useless expostulation of the Amír.—Abdúlah Khân consigned to plunder.—Seizure and spoil of Abdúlah Khân.—The Amír's repentance.—Restitution of property.—Popular dissatisfaction.—Captain Wade's interference.—Resignation of appointment.—Cessions by Ranjit Singh to Súltân Mâhomed Khân.—Letters from Peshâwer.—The Nawâb's willingness to be deceived.—Interview with the Amír.—Events of 1836.—Series of intrigues and alarms.—The Amír's plans.—Strives to gain over Mâhomed Osmân Khân.—Sudden panic.—Hâjí Khân's recommendation.—The Khân and his Hindú creditors.—The Amír's financial measures.—Movements of the Síkhs and of Kâmrân.—Hâjí Khân's remarks on the times.—Departure of Pír Mâhomed Khân.—His attempted assassination.—Impediments thrown on his retreat.—Letters from India.—Resume duties.—Intercourse between Kâbal and Lúdiána.—Renewed communications with Persia.—Hâjí Ibráhim.—Hússén Alí.—Ivân Vektavich.—His seizure, release, and despatch from Bokhára.—His intentions and assertions.—Abdúl Samad's projects.—His influence in the Amír's háram.—The Amír's evasion.—Journey to Tátang.

As soon as the amír recovered sufficient confidence to sit in darbár, there was but one topic

on which he indulged, and that was the treachery and perfidy of his brothers, and other relatives, who, he said, had betrayed him to the Síkhs, and would not allow him to fight. He believed, or affected to believe, that it was essential to the success of his future plans that they should be removed, together with other obnoxious persons; and the mode and manner of compassing their degradation or destruction now absorbed his attention. As the business was a serious one, he strove, if not to procure the sanction of, to palliate his proposed measures to his brothers, at Kândahár, and they feigning to acquiesce in the propriety of all he urged, promised to send Rashíd Akhúndzâda to Kâbal, at the due time, to represent themselves, and to assist and countenance him in the necessary acts of justice, which he had determined to carry through. Kâbal was in a cruel state of consternation, as it had been ever since the return of the amír; the streets were the theatres of constant conflicts and slaughters, of which no one seemed to take notice, and the city appeared on the verge of delapsing into anarchy. The darbár of the amír was unattended, and the functions of government seemed to be suspended. The chance is, had there been a leader upon whom the mass could have confided, a change in the rule of the country might easily have been brought about. Various parties applied to the Nawâb Jabár Khân, who, while he listened to every one, and expressed

himself as dissatisfied as any other person, was deterred by indecision of character, or perhaps prudence, from profiting by the opportunity to elevate himself. A cause of much disquietude and stormy altercation during this season of plots and alarm was the necessity the amír found himself under of reducing his army, and of providing for the increased numbers now dependent upon him, owing to the breaking-up of the Pesháwer darbár and government. There were many of his Bárak Zai relatives, and many Dúránís of respectability, as well as others, who had previously subsisted in the employ of Súltân Máhomed Khân, whose claims even the amír did not dispute. The question was, how to satisfy them. As it was impossible to entertain both his full amount of ancient troops and these new-comers, he adopted the medium course of rejecting the inefficient, and of retaining only the effective of both classes. So much opposition was offered that he succeeded but partially to carry his point. But when he called upon his chiefs to sacrifice a portion of their allowances to meet the wants of their relatives and friends now expelled from Pesháwer, he was assailed by loudly-expressed discontent, and amongst the most noisy and querulous was Hâjí Khân, who, if he had not acquired his former influence, indulged in all his accustomed freedom of speech.

Previous to starting on the late expedition he had been questioned as to what was likely to

happen, and replied, "Nothing serious; but as long as the business is about the amír will put his arms around my neck and cry Hâjí Lâla! what is to be done? Hâji Lâla! what is to be done? When it is over, he will think of nothing else but, by some pretext or other, to reduce my stipend." I had visited the khân in the camp at Jelálabád, and he asked me what I thought of pending affairs. I put to him the same question. He said, it was hardly possible to contend with the numerous and disciplined troops of the Síkhs; that he had recommended the amír to postpone the expedition until next year. He complained that the amír placed no trust in any one but his own sons. All the brothers, he averred, should have been present; those at Kândahár were not inclined to move; while Súltân Máhomed Khân was at Bájor, everyone knew for what purpose. Had the enemy been Shíás, he said, being still Músulmâns, there would have been a means of accommodation with them, as there would had they been Faringhís, who do not trouble themselves about the religion of other people; but with the Síkhs, unclean infidels, who were neither one thing nor the other, there was no coming to an understanding. He concluded by lamenting that with such antagonists there was no room or justification for the exhibition of treason. The khân, however, proved prophetical, as regarded the fate which awaited his stipend; but he took the

amír's resolution in very ill-humour, and was anxious, by strong language, to have set it aside. One day he addressed the amír:—"If I tell you that you have surpassed your brother, Vazír Fatí Khân and Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khân; that you went with twenty thousand men, and placed yourself in front of seventy thousand Síkhs, that you discharged your guns upon them, that you fought them, and brought their heads into your camp,—then you are angry. If I tell you, that you went and showed them your nakedness, and sneaked off,—then you are angry; there is no saying anything to please you." The amír put his turban on the ground before Hâjí Khân, and conjured him to have pity, remarking, "You know what I was when you first became acquainted with me in the vazír's camp." The reduction of allowances being general, the bulk of those affected by it wished to have broken out into rebellion, and were very earnest with the Nawâb Jabár Khân that he should resist its application to himself, which they would accept as a signal to unsheath their swords in his support. The nawâb was irresolute; and on the amír opening the subject to him, yielded at once, and consented to the diminution of his allowances.

When the wrath of Mírza Samí Khân had become a little appeased, and he condescended to resume the toilsome duties of office, he never ceased to complain of the neglect shown by the Sáhibân of Hind. About this time I received the

letter from Captain Wade, of which I have given extracts in the preceding chapter. In other letters from the mírzas in attendance upon Abdúl Ghíáz Khân, the same officer had explained in detail the steps to be taken to bring about a commercial treaty. I could not but remark, that such information was conveyed through unofficial channels; still, as communicating the wish of the government, I had only to support it to the extent of my power. It was understood that Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh, on his return to Lúdiána, had not for some time been favoured by a visit from the political agent, who reproached the unlucky monarch for having made him a daroghghwí, or liar, to his government; and it may have been supposed, that owing to that functionary's temporary ire Dost Máhomed Khân was indebted for the present overtures. I had conferences with the nawâb and Mírza Samí Khân on the subject, and enforced the propriety of doing everything that Captain Wade seemed to intimate and desire, and after much delay answers were sent. There was a struggle between the nawâb and Mírza Samí Khân as to which of them should be deputed to Lúdiána to arrange the treaty, the former considering he was entitled to be so honoured, and the latter deeming himself to be the fit person on account of his enjoying the amír's confidence. These differences were unfortunate, as both parties had been given to understand that it was Captain Wade's wish to be invited to Kâbal

himself, and I considered this so very likely that I regretted my inability to persuade them simply to express their entire concurrence as to the advantages of the proposed arrangements, and to leave the ulterior steps to the pleasure and discretion of the political agent. Mírza Samí Khân addressed a letter to Captain Wade, in which he expressed his great desire to see him, which, however, could not be gratified without an intimation from Lúdiána. I suspected this would prove fatal to the commercial treaty, and eventually a letter was received in reply, noting that however great the mirzá's desire might be to see Captain Wade, it could not exceed that officer's desire to see the mírza; and nothing farther was heard of the overtures for a commercial treaty. The errors of the Kâbal politicians may, however, have benefited Shâh Súják al Múlkh, for the political agent's anger towards him moderated, and at an interview, when the Shâh lamented his ill success, he was soothed, and informed that God would make all things easy.

It became my duty to report, from the slight encouragement with which Captain Wade's overtures were received at Kâbal, as well as from the juggling to which they gave rise, that, in my opinion, the advantages of a commercial treaty were not duly appreciated, as well as that the time was adverse to the consideration of such matters; and, singular enough, I see my sentiments

at this time, 1835, brought forward in a recent debate in the House of Commons by Sir John Hobhouse, to justify the aggressive line of policy adopted in 1838.

The receipt of the letters from Lúdiána did not affect the active intrigues carried on in Kâbal, which raged with undiminished violence. The nawâbs, and others of the amír's relatives, were closely combined; and the Kazilbáshes wished to have made me the medium of opening a correspondence with Lúdiána, for the purpose of reinstating Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh. I, of course, declined to become the medium, and even to see their principals, as had been wished. These people were anxious to have begun the business without reference to the nawâb, and only asked my countenance. I necessarily was unable to respond to so much zeal. I, however, apprised the nawâb of part of what had been proposed, and he prayed me to say nothing which might damp the effervescence. The audacious Abdúl Samad, by a person in his confidence, offered to seize the amír and to proclaim the shâh, provided I gave my assent. The amír's eldest son, in close alliance with the nawâbs and their faction, swore the amír was not his father, and stigmatized him as something worse than a knave. Pír Máhomed Khân, with Hâjí Khân, were inclined to the most desperate measures, and constantly upbraided the nawâb for his dilatoriness.

In these troubled times, when the slightest movement would have involved the country in anarchy, I preserved the same steady course, yet, as in duty bound, reported circumstances as they arose and came to my knowledge, to Captain Wade; and the notice he took of them will be seen by the following extracts from his letters at this period:—

"Lúdiána, 25th July, 1835.

"I have to thank you for the zealous attention which you continue to evince in the discharge of the duties that have been imposed on you. I am well aware of the difficulty which you must sometimes experience in encountering the intrigues that at present prevail in Kâbal, and in conciliating the good-will of the different parties who are now contending for the gratification of their own views and interests at that place, but my confidence in your discernment assures me that you will be able to meet any contingencies that may arise with ability and discretion, and in a manner best calculated to secure the reputation, and promote the acknowledged designs of our government, in opening the navigation of the Indus. It will be a pleasing office to me to bring your services from time to time to the notice of government, whenever I find that I can do so with propriety, and I hope they will ultimately reap their full reward."

In the same letter the replies from Kâbal, re-

ferring to the commercial overtures, are alluded to. "By the present opportunity I have the pleasure to send you the letter which you wished me to write to Dost Máhomed Khân, together with my replies to two letters addressed to me by Mírza Abdúl Samí Khân and Mirza Rajab Alí, which I have left open for your perusal. Copies of two letters sent to the amír and his brother, are likewise enclosed for your information. My letters to the two mirzas are merely in reply to letters received from them, of the contents of which I conclude you are aware. It is not consistent with the usage of our government, whatever it may be of theirs, for its officers to correspond with people in the relative situation which they hold to their chiefs. The chiefs themselves, too, are in the habit of writing to the head of our government, with a frequency which is embarrassing to government, when it cannot respond to their letters in a tone agreeable to their expectations and wishes; and I approve of the discretion which you have used in discouraging the transmission of letters which appeared to you to be objectionable in principle." And again: "The present crisis of affairs in Kâbal is a highly interesting one. I heartily hope with you that it may eventually tend to place our relations with that country on a better footing than they are at present. The means are equally, if not more, in the hands of the Barak Zais than our own, but as the different parties concerned

refer the consideration of their conflicting views to me, and I have no authority to favour one more than another, it is difficult for me to express any opinion as to the course which they ought respectively to take, that is not authorized in some measure by the communications which I receive from government. In the case of Shâh Sújáh's last expedition, I was obliged to reply to similar appeals by observing, that the Barak Zais ought to be the best judges of what consisted with their own welfare; and I do not feel entitled to deviate from that expression on the present occasion, though I deem it my duty to communicate everything that you report, for the information of government."

I shall not comment on these extracts farther than to observe, that there is no longer any allusion to commercial overtures, and that, as before explained, the political agent's intercourse with Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh had been renewed.

Captain Wade had justly described the crisis of affairs in Kâbal as a highly interesting one, but it had not yet arrived at maturity. Rashíd Akhúndzâda, as agent to the brother-chiefs of Kândahár, reached the city, and we had to look for the development of the projects which the amír and his adviser Mirza Sami Khân had concerted. The Akhúndzâda pretended perfect acquiescence, but was instructed by his employers to counteract the amír's plans. Lists of the proscribed were drawn up. The first comprised twelve names of

the amír's relatives and other principal men. The second contained about one hundred names of persons of minor consideration, and of all classes and descriptions, but who, being supposed to possess wealth, were deemed fit objects for plunder and slaughter. Rashíd Akhúndzâda cleverly performed his part. He simulated entire approval and compliance with everything the amír proposed, won his confidence, and became entrusted with all his secrets. The Akhúndzâda had, however, due attention to his own profit in the delicate business, and while assiduous in cultivating the good graces of the amír, he was in constant communication with those of the adverse and devoted faction, who strove, by valuable presents, to secure his favour. He alternately soothed and excited their alarms, but never allowing their apprehensions wholly to subside, contrived to keep them in that state of incertitude and uneasiness which preserved unimpaired his importance to them, and induced the necessity for them to be very liberal, and to be unable to refuse anything which he desired or coveted. The Kândahár agent, a shrewd man, was so avaricious that it has been remarked of him, that were he placed in a naked room, rather than leave it without taking something away he would scrape off the plaster from the walls. On this occasion there can be no doubt but that he greatly enriched himself at the expense of those whom the amír had consigned to destruction.

The day for the general seizure was finally fixed; the crafty Mírza Samí Khán having arranged everything, so that, as he imagined, it only remained to act, withdrew himself to the Koh Dáman, on pretence of looking after his villages, but in reality to put himself out of the way, that he might hereafter assert that all had been done without his sanction or knowledge; and that, in case of failure, he might return to the city with good grace as a mediator. The amír could scarcely have been ignorant that his designs had become matter of notoriety. Copies of his lists were in possession of many. The Nawáb Jabár Khán, moreover, had openly taxed him with his dark intentions in darbár, and upon his denial had given up his sources of intelligence, which a little confounded him. Supported, as he conceived, by Rashíd Akhúndzáda, he determined to work out his plans. The individuals exposed to danger did not neglect their precautions. They kept their retainers under arms night and day, and took especial care not to call upon the amír together, that they might not be seized in a mass; also, when they did attend they were numerously accompanied by armed followers. In this unpleasant state of affairs my house in the Bálla Hissár was assaulted for five successive nights by bands of muffled villains. I quietly filled my house with armed men, and without taking farther notice, bided in tranquillity the course of events. It is just to observe, that I did not so much suspect the amír,

however capable he was of any enormity, as I did the unprincipled Abdúl Samad, and others. This man had been desirous of forming an acquaintance with me. Seeing no possible benefit likely to arise from intercourse with such an individual, I declined to have anything to do with him, but however civilly I excused myself he was not the less offended. Now that he might reasonably calculate upon a period of anarchy and confusion, I supposed he considered the occasion favourable to destroy me, assured that at such a time there would be little inquiry or calling to account. In this conjuncture Fatí Máhomed Khân, Popal Zai, himself one of the proscribed, represented to the Nawâb Jabár Khân the peril which menaced me in the Bálla Hissár, and the nawâb promised to send for me on the morrow. He was too much occupied with his own cares and apprehensions to think of me, and forgot to do so. I had decided not to shift my quarters, so the nawâb's omission was unimportant. Until this year, although I had lived in the country since the spring of 1832, I had never called upon the amír, as I had nothing to say to, or to do with him, and so far as I knew, while aware of my presence, he did not concern himself about me. I had become intimate with his eldest sons, and of this circumstance, most likely, he was informed. Subsequent to my appointment, he had sent for me twice, and, to judge from the evidence of his language, for the express purpose of intimidating

and insulting me. I did not allow myself to be put down, and answered him in a tone similar to that in which he addressed me. At length the evening came when Dost Máhomed Khân proposed, the following morning, to put into execution his long-cherished and cogitated plans of blood and plunder. He fancied himself about to be elevated above the treachery of his relatives and their adherents, while treasures were about to flow into his coffers which would enable him to wage eternal crusades and warfare with the Síkhs, and other infidels. He sat meditating on his fell purpose, awaiting Rashíd Akhúndzâda, when that important personage made his appearance. With a countenance full of dismay, he announced that all had transpired, and plainly told the amír, that he must not think of putting his designs into effect, for he had just left the nawâbs and their confederates, who had exchanged oaths, and sworn to repel force by force. The amír was sorely incensed, but the Akhúndzâda pressed his point, insisting that violence must *not be* thought of, or ruin would follow. Their conversation grew very animated, but the amír saw that he had been foiled, and understood on whose side the Akhúndzâda had ranged himself, while, left as it were alone, he had not even Mírza Samí Khân to consult. He asked the Akhúndzâda why he had come from Kândahár to deceive him and to overthrow his plans. This question brought on a discussion, which closed by the amír receiving per-

mission (I believe I rightly express the state of the case) to seize Abdúlah Khân, the Atchak Zai sirdár, on the next day. He was inimically regarded by the chiefs of Kândahár, and was personally obnoxious to the Akhúndzâda, while he was suspected of having much wealth. Being a Duráni sirdár, no one felt any sympathy for him, and he was unconnected with the nawâbs and their faction. As the amír was disappointed with respect to the capital prizes he had coveted, it was judged becoming to glut his avarice with one of smaller consideration. This affair settled, at midnight the amír sent for Abdúl Samad, and made arrangements for the disposition of the battalion. Two companies were ordered immediately to the palace, for now, in turn, the plotter of so much mischief became influenced by fear. It had been proposed that the wives of the amír should invite the ladies of Abdúlah Khân to visit them, as they would in that case array themselves in their jewels, which could be secured within the háram, while their lord and his adherents were despoiled without. So flagrant a breach of hospitality found its reprobators, and the foul idea was dismissed. In the morning Abdúlah Khân was sent for by Máhomed Akbár Khân, and coming as unsuspicious of fraud as he was innocent of crime, was accused of corresponding with Kámrân of Hérát, and made prisoner. His retinue was despoiled of horses and arms, while a company of soldiers was despatched

to take possession of his house and property. The amír's visions of gold and jewels were not realized; and after he had divided the horses acquired amongst his sons, relatives, and principal chiefs, making them, in a manner, accomplices in his guilt, and silencing their reproaches by making them sharers in the profit derived from it, little was left to his own lot beyond a few shawls, carpets, felts and copper vessels. He now grew ashamed either of the deed, or of the small advantage attending it, and ingenuously confessed his sorrow in darbár. The khân múlla remarked, that he should have thought of contrition before he committed crime. After some time Abdúlah Khân was set at liberty, his horses were returned from those to whom they had been distributed and restored to him, as was most of his other property. The amír had sold his shawls to merchants, who had sent them to Bokhára; and as they could not be recovered, a draft for their value was given. The amír had discovered that he had been duped by Rashíd Akhúndzâda, and that the seizure and spoliation of the Atchak Zai sirdár were acts rather agreeable to the chiefs of Kândahár than profitable to himself. Public opinion, which in Kâbal has a beneficial and controlling influence, and often checks the irregularities of its rulers, was loudly expressed, and the degradation of a man whose only error was fidelity to the Bárak Zai family throughout its various fortunes, was indignantly reprobated. The tale of correspondence

with Kámrán no one believed, and it was deemed absurd to expect money from a man who had been subjected to spoil but the preceding year by his employers at Kândahár.

At an early period of my antiquarian researches I had, through the medium of Colonel, now Sir Henry Pottinger, made proposals to the Bombay government, over which the Earl of Clare then presided, and they were favourably received. I had subsequently the satisfaction of receiving the assurance that my labours were appreciated, a valuable testimony, because I felt that it would not be given unless judged to be merited. Captain Wade, aware of this connexion, on requesting me to correspond with him, and before I received notice of the appointment as agent, had, on the 5th of December, 1834, in allusion thereto, accurately described it as "one of a scientific nature," and properly continued, "and will not, of course, interfere with the connexion which you have formed with me, as such a collision might prove embarrassing to all parties." So soon, however, as the duties of agent were, to use Captain Wade's appropriate term, "imposed" on me, and he considered me well within his grasp, I found that it was plainly his intention to interfere, and that he was very careless as to producing the collision and embarrassment he had formerly deprecated. From the correspondence which ultimately became revealed, as well as from other sources, I observed with

regret that he was abetted by the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, and that he had succeeded temporarily to embroil me with Colonel Pottinger and with the Bombay government, who honourably supported their own officer. I saw no alternative, therefore, but to tender the resignation of an appointment which was made instrumental in promoting strife and mischief, and did so with one hand while with the other I forwarded a full explanation to Colonel Pottinger. I now felt myself at liberty, as winter had set in, to retire from Kâbal; and leaving behind its politics and intrigues, repaired to the milder and serener atmosphere of Tátang.

I was not so easy in mind as to resume old pursuits with any pleasure, and did little more than while away the winter months. About this time Ranjít Singh, finding that the occupation of Peshâwer was not only expensive but even difficult—although on the retreat of the amír a fortress of considerable strength had been erected on the site of the old citadel, and other forts had been constructed in the country,—thought prudent to secure the services of Súltân Máhomed Khân by giving to him Hashtnagar, and the Doâbeh, north of the Kâbal river, with the southern districts of Kohât and Hângú, which his troops could not well hold; and this prudential act gave him an opportunity of boasting that he had fulfilled his arrangements with Dost Máhomed Khân.

Súltân Máhomed Khân's arrival at Pesháwer was followed by the despatch of numerous vaunting letters to his brother and relatives at Kâbal, and they attached more than due credit to them for the time. The Nawâb Jabár Khân was so assured that Súltân Máhomed Khân was in a condition to act offensively that he not only entirely fell in with his supposed views, but rejected the summons of the amír to return to Kâbal. It was to no purpose I pointed out that he was in error: he was unwilling to dismiss an illusion so agreeable to his wishes. Orders after orders came from Dost Máhomed Khân, still the nawâb prolonged his stay; and finally, when he could not bring himself to obey them, he despatched his family, and I availed myself of their company to the city, and again found myself in my old quarters.

The amír had naturally kept himself informed of my movements and actions; and he appeared more satisfied than formerly as to my intentions. I had an interview with him shortly after my return; and he chose to be civil, remarking, that I ought to call upon him, as we were neighbours, and it was only seemly that one neighbour should enquire occasionally after another; and probably, in consequence of my having combated the nawâb's inclinations in favour of Súltân Máhomed Khân, would frequently observe, that I was at least not his enemy, and, moreover, listened approvingly to

the praises which many in the darbár now ventured to bestow upon me.

It is needless to detail the political events of this year (1836), as they would principally turn upon the abortive attempts of the amír to dissipate the confederacy of his relatives, and their measures to counteract him. Generally, they would practise upon his fears, which were easily excited; and the stratagem sufficed to divert his attention from them to other objects. The presence of Súltân Máhomed Khân at Pesháwer enabled them to procure an abundance of eloquent epistles suitable to their views; and when they wanted these it was easy to forge them; and his brother, Pír Máhomed Khân, provided with his seal, could readily affix it and make them sufficiently authentic. It must be acknowledged that the amír was not suffered to remain in repose. If disposed to be tranquil, Pír Máhomed Khân would present himself with a letter, said to have been just received from his brother, and addressed to himself or to his mother. Prefacing the delivery by protesting that he was bound to produce any communication from that quarter, and of course that he was not answerable for its contents, the letter on being read would be full of the most opprobrious terms and menaces, and consequently extremely irritate the amír. The latter had been anxious to have carried into execution the dark plans of last year, and was desirous of doing the

business himself, without trusting to Rashíd Akhúndzâda or others. His doubts, however, as to the results led him to endeavour to detach some of the confederacy, and he selected Máhomed Osmân Khân as one likely to be worked upon. When he thought him sufficiently prepared, he divulged his intentions, and said, "Let us take a knife, and cut through the flesh of our arms to the bone; and when we have mangled and mutilated ourselves, no one can reproach us with mangling and mutilating others." Máhomed Osmân Khân reported to his friends all that passed, and returned to the amír to listen to fresh intimations of his designs. I do not think there was much reason for apprehension this year; but on a sudden the amír was overwhelmed with letters from various persons, announcing that Súltân Máhomed Khân, with a large force, was stationed in Bájor, ready to descend upon the valley of Jelálabád. All who were in the secret exclaimed, "Good heavens! what are you about? why sleep when the enemy is at your doors?" The business was so well managed that the amír was panic-struck, and although he could not comprehend the danger, feared it. He inquired what was to be done? Hâjí Khân replied, that troops must instantly be despatched to secure the passes leading from Bájor and Pesháwer to Jelálabad. The amír asked who would go? The khân replied, that he would, and that Abdúl Samad should be

sent to Khonar. Hâjí Khân ordered his peshkhâna to Síáh Sang, where it remained for a month, and was then silently withdrawn. A considerable degree of ridicule was caused by the manœuvres put into play on this occasion; and they were never clearly understood, for it soon became known that Súltân Máhomed Khân had never quitted Pesháwer. Had the amír dispersed his troops, and deprived himself of his battalion, he would have been left alone in Kâbal at the mercy of his adversaries,—a position in which they might have been pleased to see him, but one into which he was too wary to place himself. He probably discovered the futility of attempting to involve the whole of his obnoxious relatives in destruction by a *coup de main*, and henceforth his policy led him to essay their subversion by attacking them singly.

Hâjí Khân, who had been so eager to display his zeal, availed himself of the opportunity to improve his finances, and called together some Hindús of the city, to whom collectively he was indebted seven thousand rupees. They attended with alacrity, presuming he intended to settle their accounts preparatory to entering upon his campaign. He addressed them in an oration, setting forth, that he was about to engage in a war with infidels, and that, adverting to its chances, they all knew how disgraceful it would be to a Mússulmân to die in debt. That he owed them seven thousand rupees,

for which they held his bonds; they would confer a signal favour upon him, and at the same time perform a worthy action, if they returned them, and allowed him to go to battle with a clear conscience. He had always been their friend in the darbár, and they had made large profits in their transactions with him; and they well knew that if he returned safe and victorious they would not be losers by him. He had not a rupee to move his men from the city, and they would confer an everlasting favour upon him if they advanced him two thousand rupees at so important a crisis; in doing so, they might expect that their riches would increase vastly in this world, and they would all become cows in the world to come, for so charitable and generous a deed could not but secure its due reward. The Hindús were astounded, but the khân was irresistible, and procured the surrender of his bonds, with the two thousand rupees, for which he gave an order for grain on Chahárbâgh of Lúghmân.

The large military force the amír deemed it advisable to keep up, and to which he was in some measure compelled, pressed heavily upon his finances, and a multitude of expedients were put into practice to meet the extraordinary expenses it involved. No opportunity was neglected of seizing property, and although a pretext, more or less valid, was generally urged, extreme dissatisfaction prevailed, and the popularity of the amír

diminished daily. An effort made to increase the revenues derived from the Ghiljí districts of Ghazní threw them into insurrection, and the Ghiljí districts of Kâbal were on the verge of revolt for the same reason. In both instances the amír gained a trifle, notwithstanding the Ghazní Ghiljís defeated his troops. In the autumn Máhomed Akbar Khân marched into Taghow, and after some severe fighting, in which men of consideration were slain, possessed himself of the valley. Here also tribute was enforced. Many of the troops employed in this expedition went provided with barâts, or orders for their pay, drawn out in anticipation. Such orders are described as being on the stag's antlers, meaning that the stag must be first caught.

Abroad, while to the east the Síkhs were consolidating their power at Pesháwer, and extending their arms and influence on the western banks of the Indus, now actually occupying the level country of Dáman, in which formerly only their agents resided, while they pushed their troops into Banú; to the west, Shâh Kámrân demonstrated that he was able to leave Herát; and his army spread over Sístân, which he rendered tributary. Of all men living there was no one so dreaded by the Bárak Zais as Shâh Kámrân. For many years civil dissensions and intrigues had confined him within the walls of Herát, and it was supposed that he would never be competent to leave them. Having purified his house, agreeably to his own fashion,

by murder and banishment, he now appeared in the field, and but for the views of his minister, Yár Máhomed Khân, which were opposed to his progress eastward, would very probably have possessed himself of Kândahár. His movements, however, prevented some contemplated seizures at Kâbal, Hâjí Khân suggesting that the times were critical, and remarking, with some propriety, that when a man was abroad who would spare none of them, it behoved them not to destroy each other.

The close of this year was marked by the departure from Kâbal of Pir Máhomed Khân, half brother to the amír, and full brother to Súltân Mâhomed Khân. Of the amír's relatives he was the most turbulent, and therefore most apprehended. A daring and desperate man, he was particularly desirous of acting, and the more prudent Nawâb, Jabár Khân, had frequently trouble to restrain him. He had, besides, money, and was therefore enabled to keep his troops together, and of them he had as many as seven hundred, chiefly Atchak Zais and Ghiljís. The amír, constantly informed of all his plans—for it was notorious that his writers had been corrupted—thought it necessary to be rid of him, and had twice sent assassins by night to his house. They missed Pír Máhomed Khân, but on the first visit carried off money and valuables to the amount of twenty-four thousand rupees, and on the second, to the amount of five thousand rupees. Complaining to the amír, the

sírdár was jeeringly told, that most likely the Nawâb Jabár Khân had done the evil, as every one knew he entertained robbers. Matters having come to this extremity, Pír Máhomed Khân saw the necessity of leaving Kâbal, and after much debate and altercation did so. Many of his followers were seduced by the amír, and remained, while his eldest son even returned from Bhút Khâk. Orders were sent to the authorities at Jelálabád to obstruct his passage by every means short of actual violence; not to admit him within the town, and to tamper with his dependents. Other orders were sent to Khonar, to the Momands, and to the Khaibarís respectively, instructing them not to grant a passage through their countries either to Bájor or to Peshâwer. Máhomed Akbar Khân precipitately gained Jelálabád from Taghow, where his brother, Máhomed Haidar Khân, was sent from Kâbal to replace him, but, in despite of obstacles, Pír Máhomed Khân, with the remnant of his followers, reached Lâlpúra, where he was met by Amír Khân of Bájor with a good force, and together they marched into Bájor.

Soon after my return to Kâbal in the spring, I had received letters from India; among them one from Mr. Trevelyan, in reply to a communication I had made containing the reasons which had compelled me to tender the resignation of the appointment imposed on me. I was recommended to continue to discharge the duties, and was told,

"Your sole duty, is to keep the supreme government informed of all that is going on in any of the countries beyond the Indus, intelligence of which reaches Kâbal, with the addition, whenever you think proper to offer any, of your own views and comments upon the particulars communicated by you. By doing this well, as you have hitherto done, you will render an important public service, and it will always be open to the Governor-general to employ you in any other way he may think proper."

In deference to these sentiments, although not very satisfactory ones, I renewed my correspondence with Captain Wade, in despite of an official letter I received at the same time, with a very obsequious private one from that officer, and which would have fully justified me to have declined any farther intercourse with him, even according to his patron, the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, who, when informed of it in 1838, and being told that a friend of mine had characterized it as an insolent and imperious letter, remarked, that it merited severer reprobation.

During this year little correspondence took place between the authorities in Kâbal and Lúdiána. The accession of Sir Charles Metcalfe to the government in India had produced letters, indeed, from the amír and nawâb Mírza Samí Khân; remembering that Sir Charles had corresponded with the Vazír Fatí Khân; but no replies were received.

the policy of the government being for the moment opposed to dubious connexions with states beyond the frontiers; which events have proved was the wise policy, since a deviation from it has produced such signal disaster and disgrace.

It became my duty this year to report the despatch of fresh letters to Persia, which were sent by Hâjí Ibráhím, a brother of Abdúl Samad. This profligate man had amassed some money, for, besides large allowances, he trafficked, made ducats, and scrupled at no means of increasing his wealth. It was a point with him to send it out of the country, and his brother was commissioned to return to Persia, and to deposit it there. Of course, letters were procured to the shâh, if no other object were hoped from them, that the importance of Abdúl Samad might be made known. As the journey was dangerous to the Hâjí, Hússén Alí, a young man of the Bálla Hissár, who had more than once gone as far as Orenburgh, was prevailed upon to accompany him to Bokhára. I was well acquainted with Hússén Alí, and he took leave of me previously to his departure, but never mentioned that he was charged with letters for the Russian government, nor did any one suspect that he was. He had a commission to purchase furs for Abdúl Samad, and spontaneously offered to be useful to me in any way.

At the close of last year letters from Bokhára had announced the presence there of Ivân Vekta-

vich, whose name has since been sufficiently notorious. A merchant of Kâbal, then at that place, noted to his correspondent that Vektavich had been arrested as a Persian spy, when he declared himself to be a Russian, and was in consequence released by the Ghosh Begí. Thereupon presuming, he openly took notes, which being reported to the amír, that chief proposed to slay him, but the Ghosh Begí again privately sent him away, with an escort, to Mangkishlâk, on the Câspian. Vektavich had requested of the merchant to forward letters to me, and to Mr. Court at Lahore, but his sudden departure deprived us of the honour of his communications. Vektavich gave himself out as a most important personage, and declared that Russia, being at ease as regarded Persia and Turkey, intended to interfere in the affairs of Central Asia.

Vektavich was still in Bokhára when Hâjí Ibráhím and Hússén Alí reached, and the latter went in his company to Mangkishlâk. Hâjí Ibráhím, in a letter from Bokhára, reported the flight of Hússén Alí, and that he had made off with a number of his ducats, and requested his brother to confiscate his house and property at Kâbal. Abdúl Samad did not do so, and observed, that Hússén Alí had gone on his business, or, as was supposed by those who heard him, to buy furs.

In reporting the despatch of letters to Persia I remarked, that it remained with the government

to consider the value to be placed on such communications, and to treat them lightly or otherwise. In case they were seriously judged, there were ready instruments of arresting the evil, viz. Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh at Lúdíána, or Shâh Kámrân, already in the field. From the tone in which I set forth the matter, it must have been clear that my opinion was, that very little notice need be taken of them.

Amongst the consolatory events of this year, was ,the assurance communicated to me, by orders of the Bombay government, that the vindication, into which the subtle conduct of the political agent at Lúdíána had forced me, was entirely satisfactory.

I remained this year in Kâbal until its termination, and should most likely have passed the winter there, when I became apprised of a circumstance which induced me to accompany the Nawâb Jabár Khân to Tátang. The amír's eldest son, Máhomed Afzil Khân, had been appointed to collect the revenue of Khúram, which for two years had been neglected, and Abdúl Samad, with his battalion, was commissioned to attend him. This fellow, it seemed, had urged my seizure upon the amír, striving to delude him with the notion of finding twenty thousand rupees in my house. I was unconscious of all this, when I received an intimation from a quarter I was not permitted to suspect, that it was necessary to be on my guard against the designs of Abdúl Samad. According to the

information given, the amír, when the subject was proposed to him, honourably affirmed that I was his guest. He therefore was not consenting. Abdúl Samad, who possessed a singular influence with the amír's most powerful wife, endeavoured to obtain her support to the step he recommended; and from this lady's control over her husband, if she really exerted it, I had reason for mistrust. The day for Abdúl Samad's march drew near, and he strenuously pressed upon the amír to proceed to extremity with me, saying, that unless he did he should not leave Kâbal satisfied. The amír replied, that he might go with his mind perfectly at ease, for he should very soon be informed how Masson Sáhib had been treated. I understood that the amír by his answer had evaded the request, and ridden himself of Abdúl Samad's importunity. I, however, informed the Nawâb Jabár Khân of what I had heard, without making him acquainted with the source of my intelligence, and he, observing, very truly, that they were all scoundrels, and not to be trusted, proposed that I should accompany him to Tátang, to which I agreed; and in a day or two after we started.

CHAPTER XVI.

Aggressions of Hari Singh.—Preparations to repel it.—Despatch of troops to Jelálabád.—Plans of attack.—Attempt to assassinate the Amír.—Retaliation of Máhomed Akbar Khân.—March into Khaibar.—Cannonade of Jamrud.—Attack by Hari Singh.—Discomfiture of Afghâns.—Battle renewed by Shamsadín Khân.—Danger of Amír's sons.—Feat of Máhomed Akbar Khân.—Hari Singh mortally wounded.—Retreat of Sikhs.—Mirza Sami Khân's prayers.—Death of Hari Singh.—His intrepidity.—Disputes in the Afghân camp.—Altercation between Abdúl Samad and Mír Afzil Khân.—Retreat of Afghân army.—Hâjí Khân's deeds in the Doâbeh.—Lénah Singh's messages.—Hâjí Khân's letters to Kâbal.—Contest with Lénah Singh.—Retreat of Hâjí Khân.—His suggestions at Jelálabád.—His treachery.—Abdúl Samad's effrontery.—His degradation and dismissal.—Interview with the Amír.—With Máhomed Akbar Khân.—Mírza Samí Khân's advice.—Correspondence between Sikhs and Afghâns.—Return to Kâbal.—Adventure at Jigdillik.—Reception of Máhomed Akbar Khân at Kâbal.—Dismissal of Hâjí Khân.—His welcome at Kândahár.—His connexion with the British.—His understanding with Gúló.—His pursuit of Dost Máhomed Khân.—His final disposal.—The Amír's displeasure with the Ghazní chiefs.—Zerin Khân's remark.—Motives of displeasure.—Removal of Shamsadín Khân.—Remonstrance of Kândahár Sirdárs.—Supposed plans of the Amír.—The Amír's exultation.

The commencement of the year 1837 was distinguished by active preparations on part of the amír

to resent the occupation of a petty castle at Jamrúd, by Harí Singh, the Síkh governor of Pesháwer. The amír was apprehensive that the step taken by the Síkhs was a prelude to farther aggressive measures, and he saw, in the intimidation and submission of the people of Khaibar, the road laid open to Jelálabád. Jamrúd, it may be observed, is at the very entrance of the defiles of Khaibar. The amír did not on this occasion himself leave Kâbal, but deputed his confidential minister, Mírza Samí Khân, to superintend the operations, his son Máhomed Akbar Khân commanding the troops. It was not the actual intention of the amír that collision should take place, but it was judged necessary to make a display of force, and to secure the Khaibarís, endangered by the proximity of the Síkhs. For this purpose Mírza Samí Khân was provided with money, and instructed to arrange the payment of annual allowances to their principals. It was also determined, if possible, to erect a castle and to establish a garrison in Khaibar. Five of the amír's sons were present with the army collected on this occasion; Máhomed Afzil Khân, Máhomed Akbar Khân, Máhomed Azem Khân, Máhomed Haidar Khân, and Máhomed Akram Khân. With them were the Nawâbs Jabár Khân and Máhomed Osmân Khân, Sújâh Dowlah Khân, son of the Nawâb Máhomed Zemân Khân, and Shamsadín Khân, the amír's nephew. Of the high military chiefs, were Náib Amír Akhúndzâda, Náib Múlla Momind

Khân, Máhomed Hússén Khân, Arz Begí, Zerín Khân, and Názir Diláwar. Hâjí Khân, who had previously been sent on a mission to Mír Alam Khân of Bájor, and who had returned reporting that he had settled everything, was despatched again in that direction for the purpose of invading, in conjunction with the Bájor and Momand levies, the districts of the Doâbeh, and Hashtnagar, north of the Kâbal river.

No sooner had the preparations to resist Síkh aggression been determined upon, than it was followed by one of the usual attempts to remove the amír by assassination. At midnight some one introduced himself into the apartment of Ghour Kinchíní, one of the amír's wives. Not finding him there the assassin went to that occupied by the mother of Mâhomed Akbar Khân. There alike unsuccessful, he found his way into the chamber of Azzíz Khân, Ghiljí's sister, where Dost Máhomed Khân was sleeping. Fortunately, he was aroused, and calling upon a kaníz, or slave-girl, to bring a light, the villain made off, contriving, however, to carry off some articles of apparel, and six hundred rupees in value of trinkets from the apartment of Ghour Kinchíní. In the morning the amír consulted with Mírza Samí Khân and Múlla Momind Khân, and arrested several individuals of the Bálla Hissár, while he removed the katwâl from office. Nothing farther transpired, and the prisoners were released; but the amír publicly asserted he knew the instigators, and would settle his

accounts with them when the expedition terminated.

Subsequently Súltan Máhomed Khân complained that assassins had been sent by Máhomed Akbar Khân on several occasions to Pesháwer; and it proved that he had not complained without reason; and so closely was he beset that he never moved abroad but in daylight.

Mírza Samí Khân, with the amír's sons, marched into Khaibar, and one circumstance leading to another, they advanced to the castle of Jamrúd, when becoming bold by the non-appearance of Harí Singh, a cannonade was commenced upon one of its faces. In the course of two or three days the weak defences of the place were destroyed, and the Afghâns were congratulating themselves on its being about to fall into their hands when, on the morning of the 30th April, Harí Singh unexpectedly attacked their position, and for the moment carried all before him.

The divisions of Náib Amír Akhúndzâda, Múlla Momind Khân, and Zerín Khân were broken and dispersed, being those upon which the attack bore, while their leaders were severally wounded. The unattacked divisions dispersed and fled, leaving the amír's sons, and the Nawâb Jabár Khan on the field, with a few individuals adhering to them. Máhomed Haidar Khan, a boy, who had never before seen battle, retired weeping. Máhomed Afzil Khân, who, at the head of two thousand men, was sta-

tioned on the plain, alone stood firm, and kept his troops together. Harí Singh, in the first instance, appeared to have the intention of attacking this body, but, observing its steady attitude, suddenly wheeled round, and fell upon the divisions ranged amongst the small eminences skirting the plain. The amír's sons, and the Nawâb Jabár Khân, while scorning to fly, were in ravines and hollows separated from each other, unconscious of what was passing around them, and fearful, lest they might be detected, to ascend the eminences to ascertain. Fourteen of the Afghân guns had been captured, and the Síkhs, supposing the victory gained, committed themselves in pursuit, when they were met by a large body of horse under Shamsadín Khân, who, not present at the attack, was on his way to the field; nor did the flight and discomfiture of his friends induce him to check his progress. Very many of the troops who had fled without combat also returned with him, and the Síkhs in turn became fugitives.

While these events were passing a small party of Síkh horse galloped over an eminence into the hollow where Máhomed Akbar Khân was placed, and, of necessity, a conflict took place. The noise brought his brother, Máhomed Akram Khân, from a contiguous ravine, where no one knew he was, and together making up about one hundred men, they repulsed the Síkh party, and Máhomed Akbar Khân, assisted by two or three of those near

him, killed one of his infidel foes, on which account he arrogated to himself high credit. The Nawâb Jabár Khân and Sújah Dowlah Khân had also united, and on the arrival of Shamsadín Khân made a successful charge, and recaptured a couple of guns. Máhomed Akbar Khân, who detested both of them, hastily came and struck a spear into the ground, thereby attributing to himself the merit of the affair. At this crisis Harí Singh, who might or might not have been able to remedy the confusion which had spread amongst his troops, received a fatal wound, and was carried off the field. The Síkhs retired under the walls of Jamrúd, and entrenched themselves. Máhomed Akbar Khân, elate at the sudden and happy change in the fortunes of the day, proposed, possibly without intending so much, to march upon Pesháwer; when Mírza Sami Khân appeared, and crying that his prayers had been accepted, and his good name preserved intact, entreated the boasting young man to be satisfied with what was done.

As soon as the action commenced the mírza had secreted himself in some cave, or sheltered recess, where, in despair, he sobbed, beat his breast, tore his beard, and knocked his head upon the ground; now, he asserted, that he had been offering up prayers, and was willing it should be believed they had been efficacious. The results of the struggle were, that the Afghâns recovered eleven of the fourteen guns captured from them; they also possessed themselves of three belonging to the Síkhs,

who, in like manner carried off the same number belonging to the Afghâns. Amongst the latter was a very large cannon, much prized, whose fellow, the Zabar Zang, was at Ghazní; Harí Singh, remarking its superior dimensions, had directed it to be borne off upon its capture. The Afghâns had really not much to boast of in this action, although Máhomed Akbar Khân plumed himself on a transcendent victory. The Síkhs scarcely acknowledged defeat, but their loss in the person of their chief was irreparable. That gallant leader expired, and was burnt the evening of the action. Harí Singh was possessed of great personal intrepidity, but, whether from want of judgment or from undervaluing his foes, had frequently been placed in critical situations, and at length fell a victim to his temerity. He held the Afghâns in bitter contempt, ever affirming that they were dogs and cowards, and that he knew them well.

Born in the same town as Ranjit Singh, he had been his playmate in boyhood; in mature age he became the most faithful and able of his chieftains. It is said, the ruler of Lahore was seriously affected by the tidings of his death. After the action grave disputes arose between Máhomed Akbar Khân and the Nawâb Jabár Khân on the propriety of moving forward; but ere they could agree powerful reinforcements had arrived for the Síkhs, which compelled the Afghâns precipitately to retire. The retreat was effected by night, and, as usual on such

occasions, as soon as the signal was given the army bazár was plundered. On reaching Dáka, Máhomed Akbar Khân wished to pass the troops under review, to prove that he had retreated in perfect order,—neither disliking, perhaps, to show that he could manage better than his father had done, nearly similarly situated. Some few of his relatives, and of the chiefs, paraded before him. The greater part refused to do so; which increased the animosity, already too prevalent, in the camp. At this place, also, high words passed in the darbár, between Máhomed Afzil Khân and Abdúl Samad; the former placed his hand on his sword, when his brother, Máhomed Akbar Khân, said to him, in Pashto, "Let the dog alone, he has often addressed more abusive language to myself." The profligate Persian, with his battalion, had been ordered to join Máhomed Akbar Khân, and should have reached before the battle, but he had lingered on the road, and contrived to arrive after it had been fought. In the subsequent trifling operations, he was observed to be so partial to the covering of shélas, or ravines, that he acquired, in witty allusion to the Persian words of command, dosh fang, &c., the appropriate sobriquet of Shéla-fang. From Dáka the Afghâns retired to the skirts of the Saféd Koh, Máhomed Akbar Khân locating his troops along the valley of Chaplíár, while he fixed himself at the head of it, in Aghâm. The Nawâb Jabár Khân retired to Tátang.

We have stated that Hâjí Khân had been despatched towards Bájor, it being intended that, in co-operation with the Bájor and Momand troops, he should make a diversion in the Doâbeh north of the Kâbal river. In that district was a castle, held by a small Síkh garrison, and the Sirdár Lénah Singh, with a thousand horse and two guns, had been detached for its protection. Hâjí Khân found himself in command of five or six thousand men, including his own retainers, being attended by Mír Alam Khân of Bâjor, Sâdat Khân the Momand chief, and Saiyad Bábá Jân of Peshatt, in Khonar. Procrastinating amongst the hills, Lénah Singh sent him a letter, stating that report gave him credit for being a great warrior, if so, —and he had come expressly, as he avowed, for kazzâh (or to devote himself in the cause of religion,)—why keep under the shelter of the hills. The Síkh recommended him to advance upon the plain, where his object was likely to be attained. On another occasion, Lénah Singh sent a man to see what kind of a person Hâjí Khân was, whether fat or lean, tall or short. The khân exhibited himself, and then pointing to a man in armour sitting by his side, said, This is Mír Alam Khân, of Bájor. He next showed the fellow Sâdat Khân Momand, and Saiyad Bábá Jân of Khonar, with others, and dismissed him to report what he had seen. While this farce was playing Máhomed Akbar Khân arrived at Jamrúd, and learning that

no assistance had been given to Harí Singh, saw there was just a chance of effecting a decisive impression upon Pesháwer, and desiring the khân to leave objects of minor consideration in the Doâbeh, earnestly besought him to cross the Kâbal river and join him. Hâjí Khân, who had a game of his own, wrote to the amír that Máhomed Akbar Khân had requested him to cross the river, but how could he do so with an enemy in front, and until he had exterminated him. Ultimately, advancing on the plain, the Afghâns encamped close to the castle, under which Lénah Singh was entrenched. The Momands attacked the ramparts, and it is believed would have forced them had not Hâjí Khân compelled them to desist. During the combat one of Lénah Singh's guns burst, which enabled the khân to write to Kâbal that he had won a great victory, killing one hundred to one hundred and fifty Síkhs, and capturing a gun. The annihilation of Lénah Singh was promised. His next letter was dated from Gand-âb, and announced that, influenced by letters from Súltân Máhomed Khân, the Bájor, Khonar, and Yusaf Zai chiefs had abandoned him, and that he had no alternative but to retire with Sâdat Khân Momand. The amír was sorely incensed, and the khân was next heard of at Jelálabád, where he was urging Máhomed Akbar Khân to send him and Abdúl Samad to Jamrúd, where they would renew hostilities. As the Síkhs now mustered nearly forty thousand

men at Peshâwer, it is difficult to imagine what the khân's object may have been, unless to have inducted them into the valley of Jelálabád. Súltân Máhomed Khân, with his brother, Pír Máhomed Khân, during these operations were both at Lahore, in attendance upon the Máhárájá. When apprised of what was passing, they sent letters to Hâjí Khân and Mír Alam, with all the presents they had received from Ranjit Singh for themselves, and instantly set out for Peshâwer. Popular rumour accused Hâjí Khân of receiving a sum of money from Lénah Singh; it was possible, but not likely. Of his treachery no one doubted.

The day of the degradation of the notorious Abdúl Samad at length drew nigh. Perceiving his influence had declined, and that his dishonesty had become known, he resolved by some manœuvre to recover himself, or by some desperate deed to free himself from embarrassment. His battalion was in arrears of pay for some months, and he profited by the circumstance to put into play a stratagem, in which the men were to perform a part. As concerted between Abdúl Samad and his captains, they arose, cut down their tents and his own, and on foot led him to Chahár Bâgh, in their way to Kâbal, where they said they were going to clamour for their pay. Máhomed Akbar Khân, with a few horsemen, rode after them, striving to prevail upon them to return. Four shots were fired at him, when he retired. The

battalion continued its route; on reaching Gandamak Abdúl Samad was seated upon a horse. When they neared Kâbal he was again made to walk, and the battalion finally marched to the meadow in front of the amír's palace, where they placed their vagabond commander on the summit of a mound. His friends pitched a tent over him, with the amír's permission. Aga Saiyad Máhomed, the amír's sandúkdár, sent to the battalion, was unhorsed and maltreated.

Towards evening Abdúl Samad was summoned to the amír's presence. He went, accompanied by twenty of his men, armed with carbines. The amír had prepared for any violent attempt, by placing a party of Afghâns at the head of the stair-case leading to his apartment, with orders to allow no one but Abdúl Samad to enter. When the fellow had passed, his followers made a vain effort to force a passage; two or thee of them were wounded and all were despoiled of their arms. Some were secured, others fled. Amongst the former was one who had fired upon Máhomed Akbar Khân, and he was ordered to be hanged forthwith. Abdúl Samad pretended that his battalion had revolted on account of arrears of pay. The captains affirmed, that they had merely obeyed his own orders, and had done what he suggested to them. Ismael Khân, Merví, the amír's mírákor, becoming guarantee, he was suffered to go to the house of one of his dissolute companions, called Shâh Sáhib, in the Arabah.

An inventory was taken of his effects, which were afterwards confiscated, and he sought refuge in the house of Khân Sherín Khân, in Chándol. Ultimately he left Kâbal and reached Bokhára, where his impudence and dexterity enabled him to secure a tolerable footing. There were many curious circumstances attending his dismissal, which I never rightly understood. It is almost certain that after his disgrace the amír's ruling lady sent him a rich dress, worked by her own hands.

When the army marched from Jelálabád towards Khaibar I returned to Kâbal, and the amír hearing of my arrival sent for me, and I breakfasted with him. He was very civil, and laughingly said, that he did not think the nawâb would be so anxious to pass the next winter at Tátang, as he certainly never would have gone there this year had he dreamed of what was to happen. When the tidings of the engagement at Jamrúd reached I congratulated him, not on the victory which had been gained, as I was not quite sure of its nature, but that his five sons had escaped accident. He noticed my qualified congratulation, but received it cordially, and I sat with him during the day. Subsequently I had business which took me to Mírza Samí Khân, at Aghâm, under the Saféd Koh at Jelálabád, and intimating to the amír my intention of visiting the camp, he approved of it. On reaching Aghâm I had an interview with Máhomed Akbar Khân, who dilated on the recent

victory, and particularly explained that it was not owing to the wound of Harí Singh. Mírza Sami Khân had previously assured me that the sirdár had become so intelligent that it was a pleasure to converse with him, while in valour he surpassed Rústam. He prayed me to turn the conversation on military affairs and battles, averring that the sirdár delighted to commune on such topics. Máhomed Akbar Khân was affecting a little ceremony and state more than usual, particularly civil, and I was considered his immediate guest so long as I remained in camp. Desiring to see the correspondence which had passed between the sirdár and the Síkhs subsequent to the retreat, a variety of letters were read to me; amongst them was one addressed to Ranjit Singh, informing the old rájá that they knew Harí Singh occupied the castle of Jamrúd without his orders, therefore they did not mean to make war upon the Máhárájá when they marched to Jamrúd. Harí Singh was their only enemy. They would have been satisfied with the demolition of the obnoxious castle, but the sirdár attacked them, and of the consequences the Máhárájá was aware. The moment they heard of the arrival of Shâhzâdá Noh Níhâl Singh (the Máhárájá's grandson), they retired; as, with reference to the chances of war, exemplified in the fate of Harí Singh, it would have been considered a great misfortune, (and what was impossible!) that a similar accident should befal a prince so dear to the Máhárájá. I

could not forbear to smile at the display of such delicate sympathy, which Mírza Samí Khân observing, put his arms around me, and said, "Masson Sáhib, you are a lion. We were obliged to come back, because we had nothing to eat. This is what we write to Ranjit Singh." The correspondence altogether was a queer one, and Máhomed Akbar Khân directed my attention to be especially directed to a letter addressed in his name to the young Síkh Shâhzâda; he said that it was "mazzardár," or very delightful. It was so, but I do not now remember much of it.

From Aghâm I crossed the country to Tátang, where I found the Nawâb Jabár Khân. On asking him whether I should congratulate him on the recent victory, he replied, "For God's sake, do not mention it." At this time news arrived from Khonar of the decease of Fatí Máhomed Khân, the nawâb's father-in-law, which compelled that nobleman to make a journey to Khonar. I therefore started for Kâbal, and reached Jigdillik. Being well known here, I halted amongst the people of the place, who dwelt in tents, about a mile off the road, up the valley. In the evening, seated on the pinnacle of a moderately high mound, with one of my servants by my side, while on the opposite side of the valley, about eighty or one hundred yards distant, was a tree, with a rivulet flowing beneath it; I observed a man running, with a musket in his hand, and crying audibly, so that

we heard him, "Dár Feringhí lár dí?" or Is the Feringhí gone? Briskly moving under the tree, he knelt, placed his musket on the bank of the rivulet, and deliberately took aim. I remarked, "That fellow means to fire." My servant replied, "No, he can hardly mean it." "By heavens, he does!" and as the words passed my mouth the shot came, striking about a foot beneath us. We secured him before he had time to reload, which he made no offer to do, as now he appeared quite stultified. Taking his musket from him, we led him to the tents, where he proved to be one Akram Khân, a resident inhabitant there, and the youngest of three brothers. I sat up until midnight, in the hope he would reveal the instigator of the act, but both he and his brothers said that was impossible. The man was at my mercy, and had I reported the case to the amir he would undoubtedly have ordered his slaughter, even though he had been commissioned by himself, which, however, I did not suspect. Still, reasoning, there was little use in sacrificing the poor stupid fellow, when the person who prompted him would escape; I dismissed him, with the recommendation not to try his hand at such experiments again. The next morning the three brothers went off, armed to the teeth, and I quietly pursued my road to Kâbal.

In the middle of July Máhomed Akbár Khân, with the forces from Jelálabád, reached the city; and his arrival was honoured by a grand procession

of the military. A vast deal of powder was expended. Seated on the same elephant with him was Máhomed Osmân Khân, who had not particularly distinguished himself at Jamrúd, where he restrained his men, willing to have fought, by crying "Zentilâk," or May his wife be divorced who draws a sword. Having at Dáka paraded his men before Máhomed Akbár Khân, it was inferred his compliance, in that instance, procured him so much distinction.

Hâjí Khân arrived with the rest, and in a day or two received orders to quit Kâbal. The khân became a suppliant, placed his turban on the ground before the amír, and entreated that he might be allowed to remain in his service, even upon a reduced salary. The amír was inexorable; and the khân left for Toba, with his horsemen, leaving his wives and family, who were to follow him, in the Nawâb Jabár Khán's castle at Chahár-déh. Had the amír been capable of acting as the Vazír Fatí Khân most likely would have done on such an occasion, he would have replaced the turban of Hâjí Khân upon his head, have raised him from the ground, and have forgiven him, while, instead of reducing his salary, he would have augmented it some ten thousand rupees per annum. By such procedure there was a chance that he would have compelled the khân to be honest for the future; if he failed he would then have been justified to proceed to extremities with him. The amír, no

doubt, was surfeited by his continual treason, and argued, that if he were to put him to death, however he might merit his fate, every one would join in condemning the measure, remembering that Hâjí Khân had been serviceable to him in his advancement to power. He therefore suffered him to depart, although aware that he would combine with those hostile to him, and that he was a person capable of doing much mischief. It was a common remark, that the amír was so fearful of him, and desirous to be rid of him, that he would have distributed a lákh of rupees in charity in the morning if sure that Hâjí Khân would have died in consequence a natural death during the day. Some time after, it was found that the khân had made his way to Kândahár, where the sirdárs received him with *all honour*.

The khân was destined to play a prominent part in the proceedings of the British army in Afghânistân. Sir Alexander Burnes had no sooner reached Bakar than one of the khân's agents was with him, and an advance of some thousand rupees secured his good-will and services. Sir Alexander told me of the fact, and I observed that, while he was worth the money, he was a great villain, and it was necessary to be cautious with him. Before the army reached Kândahár Hâjí Khân joined it, and his defection precipitated the retreat of the brother chiefs.

The long stay made at Kândahár probably in-

duced the khân to suspect that his new friends were not so invincible as he had supposed, and he meditated to profit by their weakness, and therefore engaged in plots with Gul Máhomed, Ghiljí, or Gúlú, as commonly called. Having recourse to his old game of pádshâh and vazír, he proposed that Gúlú should be pádshâh and himself vazír, and that they should set up on the spoil of the British army. While this arrangement was concluded, Hâjí Khân was the confidant of the unsuspecting envoy and minister, and nothing was done without his knowledge and concurrence. The shâh, moreover, had rewarded his treachery by creating him nasír-a-dowlah, and Sirdár Sirdárán.

On the flight of Dost Máhomed Khân from Arghandí, Hâjí Khân was despatched, with Major Outram, in pursuit of him. The result was, as might have been expected, for whether the khân were competent or not to have seized his former chief, few persons but the envoy and minister would have despatched him on such an errand. The khân on his return was seized and sent to India for his treason. It would have been well for the unfortunate envoy and minister had he been sent with him, for his lack of sense, and he deserved to have been. Dost Máhomed Khân since his capture, it is said, admits two errors in his career, one that he dismissed Captain Burnes, the other that he did not slay Hâjí Khân.

Very soon after the departure of Hâjí Khân the

amír evinced symptoms of displeasure with Náib Amír Akhúndzâda, brother to Rashíd Akhúndzâda of Kândahár, and employed under Shamsadín Khân, the hákam, or governor of Ghazní; also with Zérín Khân, Bárak Zai, a colleague of the Akhúndzâda. Their jághírs were resumed, and an inquiry instituted into the accounts of Náib Amír. Zerín Khân was ordered to leave Kâbal, and a message was conveyed to him that if he remained longer than two days his effects should be confiscated. The Dúrání placed his hand upon his beard, and swore, "that if he remained one day the amír was at liberty to shave it and do what he pleased with it." Mírza Samí Khân then was sent to soothe and pacify him, and to induce him to stay. It was not understood at the time why the amír should have selected these two individuals for degradation or for insult, because, while justly angry with many others for their conduct in the action at Jamrúd, he had nothing to reproach them with on that account, as both had been severely wounded. The train of events developed the amír's secret motives, and it proved that his pretended harshness was but a *ruse* to humble them, preparatory to taking the government of Ghazní from his nephew, Shamsadín Khân.

On the death of Amir Máhomed Khân the amír assumed a control over the administration of Ghazní; still the ancient officers were continued in

employment, and Shamsadín Khân succeeded his father as governor. Amír Máhomed Khân's widows, and their families, resided constantly in the citadel, and the governor of course generally made it his place of abode. Now the amír determined to remove them altogether, to deprive Shamsadín of his government, and to place therein his son Máhomed Haidar Khân. The measure was entirely offensive to the several members of the family, who beheld in it another instance of the amír's contempt of all family claims; but they said very little, and Máhomed Haidar Khân, after some slight demurring, was installed in his new government.

The sirdárs of Kândahár also regarded the step with aversion, and even remonstrated with the amír. They plainly saw that the policy of the amír would ultimately lead him to Kândahár, and the occupation of Ghazní they regarded as a preliminary measure. As he would only trust his own sons, they were aware that they had a year or two of grace, until Shír Jân, now eleven or twelve years of age, should be held competent to replace Máhomed Haidar Khân at Ghazní, who would be commissioned to Jelálabád, when Máhomed Akbar Khân, disengaged, would be brought to Kândahár, and established there. They well knew that they had hitherto escaped because he had no son that he could spare to take up their authority, and it did not accord with his views to confide in any other than a son.

The amír was so gratified with the induction of his son into the fortress of Ghazní that he publicly avowed his exultation, and remarked, that now he felt secure, and convinced that his government had firmly taken root.

CHAPTER XVII.

Intercourse between Kâbal and India.—Letters to Lord Auckland. —Announcement of Captain Burnes's mission.—Letters from Captain Wade.—Replies.—Lúdiána Akbar.—Farther letters from Captain Wade.—Replies.—Persian Envoy.—Russian letters.—Máhomed Shâh's firmân.—Hâji Ibráhim's private letter. —Captain Wade's letters.—Kamber Ali's difficulties.—Kândahár treaty.—Lieutenant Vektavich.—Máhomed Hússén's arrival at Kâbal.—His ridiculous conversations.—Letters from Captain Burnes and Captain Wade.—Interview with the amir. —Favourable dispositions of Ranjit Singh.—Night interview with the amir.—The nawâb's counsel.—Lieutenant Pottinger's departure from Kâbal.—Remarks on his presence at Herát.—Siege of Herát.—The Governor-General's warning off.—Results.

In September of this year, 1837, Captain Alexander Burnes reached Kâbal, on a mission from the Governor-general of India. As the consequences flowing from this diplomatic essay have been sufficiently serious, it may be useful to revert to the causes which led to it and to its progress, so far as my situation at Kâbal gave me the opportunity of observing.

It will have been noticed, that intercourse, more or less, had subsisted between the authorities at Kâbal and the political agent at Lúdiána; moreover, that Lord William Bentinck had been accus-

tomed to send letters to Dost Máhomed Khân. During the interregnum of Sir Charles Metcalf such intercourse had been interrupted, and Captain Wade was reduced to frame excuses that the letters from Kâbal were not answered. In the winter of 1835-6 the unofficial mírzas attendant upon Abdúl Ghíás Khân at Lúdiána had reported, as they said, by Captain Wade's desire, that the British government could not treat with the Bárak Zais in consequence of their dissensions with each other. In the spring following, it became known at Kâbal that a new Governor-general had arrived in India, and nearly at the same time a letter from the mírzas suggested, on the part of Captain Wade, that a letter should be addressed to him from Kâbal. It had been no pleasant task for me to reply to the remonstrances I was obliged to hear respecting the uncourteous withholding of replies to the amír's letters, and when I heard of Lord Auckland's arrival at Calcutta I told Mírza Sami Khân that he might probably now write with a better chance of success. Whether he would have written or not I cannot tell, but as Captain Wade's suggestion was to the same effect, I of course supported it, and it was agreed to despatch letters of congratulation to his lordship. They were written in the usual flowery style, and sent off.

In October 1836 the amír received letters from the Governor-general, informing him, in reply to his communications, that a mission would be de-

puted to him, and letters from Captain Wade instructed us that Captain Burnes was to conduct it. The letter from Captain Wade to myself on this occasion, I give entire, as best explaining the nature and objects of the mission.

"Lúdiána, 30th September, 1836.

"SIR,

"A Qasid of Nawâb Jabbar Khân accompanies your own, with letters from the Governor-general and myself to the nawâb and his brother, the amír, the purport of which I hope will be satisfactory in some degree, if not altogether to them. His lordship has determined to depute Captain Burnes on a commercial mission to the countries bordering on the Indus, with a view to complete the re-opening of the navigation of that river. He will proceed, in the first instance, to Hydrabad, to negotiate for further facilities for the trade in the territory of the amírs of Sindh; whence he will proceed to Mithankot, where I am instructed to meet him; and he and Lieutenant Mackeson, in concert with myself, are to devise a convenient point on the Indus for the establishment of an entrepôt, and annual fair; after settling which, Captain Burnes will proceed up the river to Attak, where he will disembark and proceed, *viá* Pesháwer, to Kabúl, thence to Qandahar, and *viá* the Bolan Pass, to Shikarpur, and back again to Hydrabad. The mission is declared to be strictly of a commercial character, and the object of it is to collect commercial information, and to

make known to the merchants residing beyond the Indus the measures which have been adopted with a view of re-establishing the trade by that river. Circumstances may arise to require my continued presence here; in which event Lieutenant Mackeson will meet Captain Burnes at Mithankot, and be directed by me to accompany that officer during his passage through the Síkh possessions. In your reports, subsequent to intelligence of these measures reaching Kâbal, it is desirable that you should note how it is received, and any measures that the amír and his advisers may contemplate in consequence.

"I am, sir, &c. &c. &c.,

"Sd. C. M. Wade,

"Political Agent."

"To C. Masson, Esq., &c. &c. &c., Kâbûl."

From this letter it will not fail to be observed that there was little notion entertained at this time of convulsing Central Asia, of deposing and setting up kings, of carrying on wars, of lavishing treasure, and of the commission of a long train of crimes and follies.

The Governor-general's communications were received with cordiality and satisfaction, which I reported to Captain Wade.

In a succeeding despatch from that officer, dated 11th November, 1836, was the following extract:—

"It might be important to ascertain if the letters

alleged to have been written to the amír from his brothers and others at Qandahar, were actually fabrications or not, and what had transpired between Máhomed Shâh of Persia, and the envoy from Qandahar to his court, regarding the reported intention of the Persians to advance during the ensuing season against Herát."

In a letter of 31st December, 1836, Captain Wade wrote:—"With reference to the items of intelligence contained in your letter of the 30th of August last, regarding the designs of Máhomed Shâh against Herát, I am desired to observe that, by information received from other quarters, the Governor-general of India, in council, is led to believe that there may be more foundation than is supposed by you for the rumour relative to the chiefs of Qandahar; and as his lordship, in council, is anxious to be kept constantly informed of the affairs of Afghânistân, I have been directed to call on you to furnish me with the earliest intelligence of all important occurrences in that quarter, for the immediate information of government."

The loss of my manuscripts and papers at Kalât in 1840, incapacitates me from presenting to the public copies of my correspondence with Captain Wade for the period in which I filled the situation of agent at Kâbal, which I would have gladly done, since Sir John Hobhouse has the modesty to make me an accessory in the evil measures so lauded by him. What my opinions were, may readily be

learned from the letters and extracts I have quoted, and may quote. In reference to this letter of 31st December 1836, the recovery of a letter-book at Kalât allows me to insert part of my answer to it.

"1st February, 1837.

"Of course I have not the opportunity of knowing from what other channels the Governor-general of India in council is led in some degree to credit such rumours, but I have observed that the public prints of India have, during the last twelve months, teemed with the most fallacious statements and absurd rumours relative to Máhomed Shâh and the Afghân countries, which must necessarily have had origin in some quarters, but that they were due to pure invention, or a desire to mislead, seems proved by subsequent events having shown their falsity.

"That Máhomed Shâh may entertain designs upon Herát is most probable, but the tenor of all information would lead to the supposition that his means are not so matured as to allow him to march on that place."

I may be excused to point out that a Persian paper, called the "Lúdiána Akbar," was printed at Lúdiána, under the direction of Shamat Alí, the confidential múnshí of Captain Wade. Items of intelligence frequently appeared in this paper, certainly never put together by the múnshí; and as it was industriously forwarded to Kabal, I was often annoyed, for the statements regarding Dost

Máhomed Khân were not only false, but so personal and insulting that they were not innocent, and that chief, while he would indignantly reject the paper, when some one officiously presented it, was wont to observe, that I wrote the lies about him. The evil corrected itself in time, for the statements were so egregiously absurd that it was admitted I should not write such nonsense, and the crime was placed on the right shoulders. In consequence of the unfounded tales and rumours I could not but notice in the Calcutta prints, I wrote to a literary friend at that presidency, asking if he knew how they originated; and although I received no direct reply to this particular question, subsequent issues of the paper, in which they appeared, revealed, that they were borrowed from the "Delhi Gazette," and that they were translations from the "Lúdíána Akbar." However, as Máhomed Shâh was represented, about this time, to be carrying fire and sword through Afghânistân, the government grew alarmed, and applied to their officers on the frontiers for intelligence; and owing to this panic I was indebted, I presume, for the above letter from Captain Wade.

Before my reply had reached, Captain Wade would seem to have suspected he was searching for a mare's nest, for in a letter of 1st February he writes, "The reports regarding the intercourse alleged to have taken place between the Bárak

Zais and the King of Persia, and the advance of the latter on Hérat, are certainly too vague to justify any confidence in them; at the same time, in the present state of affairs, it might not be altogether right, on our part, to neglect the means of being well informed of any political events of interest that may be passing on the frontiers of Persia and Turkistan."

In a letter, dated 7th April, he replies to mine of 1st February, and the extracts I give from it are curious, on more accounts than one.

"Copies of such parts of your letters as have related to the supposed designs of the King of Persia, and the overtures said to have been made to that monarch by the reigning members of the Bárak Zai family, for the expulsion of the Síkhs from their country, have been forwarded without delay to government, as well as a copy of your report regarding the preparations of Dost Máhomed Khân to repel the Síkhs from the occupation of Jamrút.

"If the amír seriously contemplated such a step as the last, he has lost the favourable opportunity of carrying it into effect, which the late assembly of the greatest part of the Máhárájá's troops at Amratsir, to join in the celebration of Kour Nao Nahál Singh's marriage, presented. No sooner have these festivities passed than Ranjit Singh has ordered his forces to move on Peshâwer, and their concentration in that quarter will, no doubt, render

it extremely difficult for the amír to resist their encroachments.

"I entirely concur in what you state regarding the delusive nature of the reports which are constantly appearing in the newspapers, on the subject of the designs of Máhomed Shâh on Afghânistân; yet, however fallacious they may appear to be to near observers, there are not wanting interested persons to mislead the shâh with false hopes of success in an expedition to that country, and, as it would appear from your letters of the 20th September, 13th October, and 7th and 30th November last, that Dost Máhomed Khân, or some of the Persian party in Kabâl, had been endeavouring to open a correspondence with the King of Persia, having for its object an offensive and defensive alliance with that ruler, the impression received by government would seem to have had some foundation.

"Accounts have lately arrived confirmatory of the report, that appears to have reached you by the way of Bokhára, of the entire defeat of the Persians by the Túrkman tribes, a result which I fully expected. It is easier to speculate than to calculate on the facilities to Persia of carrying her arms into Afghânistân, so long as the British government maintains its place among the nations of Europe and the east."

In my Lord Auckland's memorable Simla declaration one of the imputed crimes to Dost Máhomed

Khân is, that he profited by the opportunity of the presence of the Síkh troops at Amratsir to celebrate the marriage of the Máhárájá's grandson, to attack the detachment at Pesháwer. We here find Captain Wade rebuking the amír for neglecting the occasion.

I hold this letter farther valuable, as demonstrating the little value and importance attached by me to Persia, or Persian intrigues. It is fortunately in my power to give extracts from a letter of mine, dated 2nd February, which, while clearly setting forth my sentiments, will also show that I was alive to the interests of the Indian government, and not indifferent to the designs of other powers.

"I believe that the Government of India may be confident that no Persian emissaries have yet appeared beyond Herát; the ci-devant zirghar (goldsmith) of Kândahar, and such people as Abdúl Samad at Kabâl, who, without being authorized, talk largely on public affairs to increase their own importance, I presume are not to be considered such.

"While the various reports circulated in these countries the last two years, such as the arrival of Máhomed Shâh at Meshed, or its neighbourhood, with an impossible amount of forces, were not entitled to belief at the time they were current, —and experience has since proved them to be false, —reports at times have reached here, of some in-

tended operations upon Khiva from Mazanderan, which looks like acting in concert with, or at the suggestion of, the power whose vessels can command the Caspian. Among these rumours one has been frequently repeated, that the shâh was felling the forests of Mazanderan. This may be true, or not; but if he could be persuaded to destroy the best defences of that province, it would, of course, be so much the more open to invasion. *The conquest of Orgenj by either Persia or Russia is probably not the easy matter some suppose;* but if the latter power have any designs upon it, it would greatly facilitate their chances of success by engaging the former to co-operate in the attempt, while both powers, it must be conceded, have tolerably good reasons for desiring the destruction of the Orgenj state. The government of India must certainly be in receipt of constant intelligence from Tehrân, where such plans would probably be partly concocted, and must become known, and perhaps it might be subject of reflection, whether it ought not to be determined beforehand what course would be best to be adopted, in the event of a possible contingency; for one of the necessary consequences of the occupation of Khiva by the Russians, or by the Persians under their influence, would be, the distribution of their agents in all countries intermediate between them and British India."

In July of this year it became known at Kâbal

that Máhomed Hússén, who had carried a letter from the amír to Máhomed Shâh, had returned to Kândahár, in company with one Kamber Alí, a Ghúlám Shâh, and the bearer of letters and presents to the Bárak Zai chiefs.

In a letter of 8th July, I noted the circumstance to Captain Wade:—"A day or two after I last addressed you, and when I was still at Tátang, I received an intimation from Kâbal that Kamber Alí, the Persian envoy, had reached Kândahár, and that Abdúl Samad's property had been confiscated by the amír, and that he had taken refuge in the house of Khân Sherín Khân at Chándol. Having occasion to address Captain Burnes at that time, I forwarded a copy of the communication, and requested him, when he wrote you, to transmit it, or a copy, for your information. I proceeded immediately to Kâbal, and in course of two or three days letters were received from Máhomed Hússén, who accompanies Kamber Alí, copies of which I have also the pleasure to forward with this communication."

A little while before this, and previously to my departure from Kâbal for Jelálabád, the amír informed me of a letter sent by his other agent, Hâjí Ibráhím, the brother of Abdúl Samad, and purporting to be from the Russian envoy and minister plenipotentiary, Count Simonich. As it was forthcoming at the moment of Abdúl Samad's degradation, most people supposed it to be a fabrication,

and the amír evidently leaned to the same opinion. As he had sent it to Mírza Samí Khân, I could form no judgment upon it, but when I saw the mírza at Agham he showed it to me, and wished to give me a copy of it, but, aware that Captain Burnes would shortly arrive, I affected to treat it as a matter of no importance, as I had done with the amír, and observed, that it could be shown to Captain Burnes when he came. I, however, reported the matter to Captain Wade.

"The letter is written on pink-coloured paper; has no signature, but a seal stamped on it, with a legend, as Mírza Samí Khân reads it, 'Graf Ivan Simonich, Wazír Múkhtahar Béhi Rússí.' The letter is addressed to Amír Dost Máhomed Khân, and states that Hâji Ibráhím, after his dismissal by the shâh, waited on the writer; that favourable reports of the amír and the Afghâns had frequently reached him; and that he was their well-wisher. But for the seal, and Hâji Ibráhím's explanation, there is nothing in the letter to judge who wrote it; and, if genuine, it would seem intended to give weight to the shâh's firmân. Of neither, however, has any notice been taken."

I should have remarked, that Kamber Alí despatched from Kândahár a firmân, addressed to Dost Máhomed Khân, notifying to him that his petition had been received, and that His Majesty the King of Kings had enrolled him amongst his faithful subjects.

Never was a man more enraged than the amír;

he swore that he had sent a letter, not a petition, and vowed dire vengeance on Mâhomed Shâh, not even intending to spare the graves of his forefathers, or of Nádir. There was hearty mirth displayed by the súnís of Kâbal, who thought their ruler deserved such a firmân, and they rejoiced that his face had been blackened.

A translation of the above letter from Count Simonich is given as enclosure 1 in No. 2, in page 5, of the Correspondence relating to Afghânistân, presented to Parliament by her Majesty's command. Succeeding it, and designated as enclosure 2 in No. 2, is a letter to the amír from Hâjí Ibráhím.

The latter document was intended by the Hâjí to be read in darbár. Accompanying it, was a very long one for the amír's private information, which, of course, neither the amír nor Mírza Samí Khân would wish to be made public. However, at the time of its arrival, having heard of it, I contrived to get a copy, from which I forwarded other copies both to Captain Wade and to Captain Burnes,—and I presume one or the other must have sent it on to government. To have published this letter would not have accorded with the views of her Majesty's ministers, as it would have demonstrated both the character of the miserable agents whose proceedings have been made the pretence of so much alarm, and would besides show how ridiculous were the apprehensions to be entertained from Persia. I have still a copy, but it is too long to be

introduced; however, amongst many other things, the Hâjí sorely complains that Máhomed Hússén was provided with a better letter than he was; explains how the shâh was well beaten by the Túrkomans; and details Máhomed Hússén's behaviour in the camp at Shâhrúd, where, on the occasion of a review of the troops, he took occasion to lecture the shâh. The monarch was too dignified to reply; but when he withdrew, Hâjí Mírza Aghâssi, the prime minister, said to Máhomed Hussén: Fellow, who are you that presume to admonish the shâh? You are not an envoy, but the bearer of a letter. It is said, that the Afghâns are asses, and now we know it, or they would not have sent such a fellow as you here.

Captain Wade, in a communication, dated 19th June, 1837, wrote: "The nature of the information contained in your letter regarding the communications received by Dost Máhomed Khân from Persia, is highly interesting, and would have fully authorized you in making an immediate report, as there seems great reason to believe that both Hâjí Ibráhím and Máhomed Hússén *were* accredited with letters to the Persian court, in *some form*, from the amír, though it may now be convenient to him to deny that they were acting on his authority; and much allowance may be made for the importance which has been attached to these envoys in Persia from the probable intrigues and exaggerations in which they have no doubt been indulging."

In a letter of 29th August, 1837, Captain Wade wrote: "The Governor-general, in council, to whom I have considered it my duty to submit every part of your letters which relate to the politics of that quarter, is anxious to receive every information on these subjects, and I feel assured that you will not relax in your vigilance and activity in keeping me *regularly* informed of passing events, at a juncture when it is of the highest consequence to the British government that I should possess every means of forming a correct opinion. In a despatch, which I lately received from government, adverting to the interesting nature of the information that I had communicated from you, his lordship in council seemed desirous that you should continue to report, without delay, every event of interest; I beg, therefore, that your despatches may be more frequent than before."

On the 15th September, 1837, Captain Wade wrote: "The new proofs you have afforded of your zeal and intelligence, in the performance of your special duty of keeping me regularly informed of passing events in that quarter, continues to engage the favourable notice of the Governor-general in council, and I trust that your continued industry and discrimination may secure for you a continuance of the favour of a liberal and discerning government.

"Your report of the impression at Kâbal as to the reply that is likely to be given to Kamber Alí Khân, is in coincidence with the *national* prejudices

and *true* policy of the Afghâns, — Dost Mahomed Khân's *real* object in laying his grievances at the foot of his Persian majesty's throne, and the causes which gave rise to it, are obvious. An opportunity is now afforded to the amír of removing those causes by conciliating the Síkhs, who are ready to bring their quarrels with him to an amicable adjustment, on reasonable terms, in accordance with our wish for a mutual state of peace."

Captain Wade wrote, in a letter of 13th October, 1837: "The information contained in your several Reports, now acknowledged, is very acceptable. I am enabled to confirm the intelligence which you mentioned having received of the deputation of Fatah Khân to the court of Persia, on the part of Shahzadah Kamrán. The envoy in question had arrived at Téhrân."

On the 19th October following I received an intimation from Captain Wade as follows: "Until Captain Burnes shall have quitted Kabúl it is considered desirable that you should be subject to his orders, and discontinue your direct correspondence with me, and I beg that you will act accordingly. Captain Burnes will convey to me every week, if necessary, such information as he may collect either by his own means or those of yourself." This letter was in consequence of instructions from government, communicated by the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten.

Captain Burnes had reached Kâbal in September.

The Persian, Kamber Alí, had not been allowed by the sirdárs of Kândahár to come on to Kâbal; Rahám Dil Khân, one of them, avowing, that if he left the city for that purpose his throat should be cut. The Persian had, moreover, disgraced himself by his revels, and was finally in an unpleasant predicament. His companion, Máhomed Hússén, had borrowed of him some eight hundred rupees, and, being asked for payment, devised a plan to evade it, and clear himself of his creditor—quite worthy of him. He recommended Kamber Alí to feign sickness, and to keep his couch, while he went to Kâbal for some of Dost Máhomed Khân's people, with whom he would return and fetch him. Máhomed Hússén, after a violent dispute with Hâjí Khân, now at Kândahár, was permitted to leave, and, forgetting the celerity which he had promised to use, came leisurely on to Kâbal—was sent by the amír to the Nawâb Jabár Khân's house, and never thought of returning to Kândahár. Poor Kamber Alí, in great terror, urged his departure upon the sirdárs, particularly as he had received letters from Máhomed Sháh's camp, directing his return if no good was to be done; and the result was, that the sirdárs dictated a treaty, which is published with No. 3, letter from Captain Burnes to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., page 6 of the Correspondence, and which Kamber Alí was too glad to seal, to get away. A child ought not to have been deceived by such a document, however Captain Burnes may have chosen to

attach importance to it, or the Indian government to have fallen into his error. Kamber Alí was so apprehensive of being waylaid on his return that he left all his property behind, and decamped "jer-rah," or slightly equipped, as Lieutenant Vektavich, who succeeded him, set out from the Persian camp. There is a remarkable circumstance attending the despatch of Lieutenant Vektavich, viz. that he left the camp the morning after the return of Kamber Alí, seemingly in consequence of the latter's failure to reach Kâbal, without which there is a possibility we might not have been honoured with the presence of the Cossack lieutenant. I have always doubted whether he came from St. Petersburgh, and whether he passed through Téhrân. If he did not, the silence of Count Simonich to Sir John M'Neil, of which the latter complains, would be accounted for, as the count would at that time be ignorant both of his arrival in the camp before Herát and of his mission to Kâbal. Attached to Kamber Alí was a Saiyad Mobín, who, it is said, was in the receipt of a salary from Count Simonich as news-writer. It is lamentable to be obliged to confess that such was the imprudent conduct of the British mission; and so flagrant the reports in consequence circulated of their plans and intentions, that Russia, or any power, was justified to send persons to ascertain the nature of their proceedings—the principal object, I suspect, confided to Vektavich. That such a man could have been expected to defeat a British

mission is too ridiculous a notion to be entertained; nor would his mere appearance have produced such a result had not the mission itself been set forth without instructions for its guidance, and had it not been conducted recklessly, and in defiance of all common sense and decorum.

Máhomed Hússén on reaching Kâbal was, of course, introduced to the amír, and gave an account so extraordinary of his sayings and doings in Persia that the chief and his nobles were obliged to rest their hands on the ground, while they were convulsed with laughter at the egregious lies he told. On points of business nothing could be gained from him, and the amír, confessing his inability to make aught of his story, intrusted Mírza Samí Khân to question him; but with no better success. The amír then regretted that he had taken the fellow from his dokân, or shop, in the bazár, and asked for a horse which Máhomed Hússén had written from Persia he had purchased for the amír, and which was so excellent that Nádir had never one equal to it in his stables. The elchí would fain have denied the letter to be in his writing, but this being proved beyond doubt, he remembered that the Turkomans had chapowed the shâh's camp, and carried off two hundred of his majesty's best horses. By the same accident he lost the noble animal procured for the amír. The amír slily quartered him upon the Nawâb Jabár Khân, the Feringhí's friend, and occasionally sent for him, when

inclined to be mirthful and to laugh at the monstrous tales he related.

While Captain Burnes was on the way to Kâbal he had addressed a letter of remonstrance to the amír respecting the action at Jamrúd and the warfare carried on against the Síkhs. Captain Wade had done the same; moreover, addressing Máhomed Akbar Khân. The latter was not displeased at his letter, because he was recommended having shown his ability in making war, now to display it in making peace. But the amír was sorely incensed at the letter addressed to him by Captain Burnes. I had to bear the weight of his resentment, and he was absolutely savage.

I was always sorry that Kamber Alí had not found his way to Kâbal, for not only must he have failed, but the proposals he was instructed to make were of that nature that either he must have suppressed them or it would have fallen to my lot to shield him from insult. But for the mismanagement of Captain Burnes he might have had the credit of doing as much for Vektavich.

As Captain Burnes drew near to Kâbal he had written me, in a letter from Daka, dated the 4th of September: "The view which you have taken of Pesháwer being passed over to Súltân Máhomed Khân, is to me very satisfactory. I am not without hope that we shall, in course of time, be able to work out this matter, but it would be presumption in the extreme to hope for it if certain circum-

stances, which I shall unfold, did not lead me to have a well-grounded hope. I should like to have the amír's own views,—Súltân Máhomed Khân's I have, and, if I am not deceived, an inkling of those of Ranjeet Sing."

It will be observed, that Captain Wade, on the 15th September, informed me that the "Síkhs are ready to bring their quarrels with him to an amicable adjustment, on reasonable terms, in accordance with our wish for a mutual state of peace."

It appears that the máhárájá was so confounded at the death of Hárí Singh, that he informed Captain Wade that he should be glad to give up Pesháwer, preserving his pardah, or his honour. Nothing could be clearer than that the máhárájá, was willing, at the request of the British government, to have abandoned his unjust conquest,—such request would have saved him the appearance of having been forced to give it up, and have preserved his pardah. Farther, no person acquainted with the state of the country and its relations, could have doubted but that he intended to restore it to Súltân Máhomed Khân, who already enjoyed half the revenues—and from whom it was taken. Its restitution to Dost Máhomed Khân was a measure neither to be conceived with any propriety nor to be demanded, with any justice, from the máhárájá. The disposition of the máhárájá was so unhoped for, and so favourable to the success of the mission that it is no less extraordi-

nary than unfortunate that Captain Burnes should not have seen the matter in the light every one but himself did.

While Captain Burnes was at Pesháwer, where his pleasures and his business detained him a few days, the amír began to imagine he might stay altogether there, and grew alarmed. He had recourse to me in this juncture, and in a manner characteristic of him. Very late at night two of his men came to my house, saying, the amír wished to see me. I observed, the hour was unseasonable; however, as I was still up, I would go. At his house I was introduced to Máhomed Akbar Khân, who desired me to follow him, and led the way into a dark passage. I called to him to give me his hand, as I was not a cat that could see in the dark, and he laughed, and did so. After groping our way through a variety of passages, we came upon the roof of an apartment where were sitting the amír, Mírza Samí Khân, Mírza Imâm Verdí, and Náib Amír Akhúndzáda, around a farnús, or paper lanthorn. I seated myself by the amír, and Máhomed Akbar Khân sat by the side of Náib Amír. The reasons for sending for me I found were to ascertain, first, whether Captain Burnes was really coming to Kâbal, and secondly, what were the objects of his mission. To the first point I answered, that Captain Burnes was deputed to him and not to Pesháwer; and to the last, that I could not tell him what I did not know myself.

That envoys were provided with instructions (in which, however, in this case I was wrong), with which he would become acquainted when Captain Burnes arrived. The amír was scarcely satisfied. However, as I had nothing to communicate to clear up his doubts, he said, Burnes must please himself: and I, saying it was late, took leave, and was again escorted through the dark passages by Máhomed Akbar Khân. With reference to this interview I may remark, that the tone of the amír had been so high that the Nawâb Jabár Khân had recommended me to advise Captain Burnes to stay for a few days at Peshâwer, as well as to send Súltân Máhomed Khân to Bájor; when, as he said, the amír would be reduced to call on me, with the Korân in his hands, and implore me to persuade Captain Burnes to come on. This manœuvre was a good Afghân one, and I doubt not would have brought the amír to the necessity of being a suppliant, but I hardly thought it honourable that it should be put in play by ourselves; and while mentioning what the nawâb advised to Captain Burnes, I stated that I thought it needless to act upon it, as matters without it were likely to go on smoothly. The amír very possibly heard of all this, and therefore sent for me.

In May of this year Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger arrived in Kâbal, and in July, without acquainting me, or even the Nawâb Jabár Khân, in whose house he resided, departed for Herát, by

the route of the Hazárajât. With reference to the extreme jealousy entertained by the Bárak Zai chiefs of Shâh Kámrân, I had to contend with a good deal of ill-will on this account, as they could not be persuaded that I was innocent of Lieutenant Pottinger's departure, or that it was not owing to a concerted plan between us. This officer had procured twelve months' leave of absence, to explore the passes west of the Indus; and when his uncle, Sir Henry Pottinger, heard of his journey to Herát, he wrote to me, desiring I would spare no expense in transmitting letters of recal, pointing out that he would be compromised with the government, who, at his solicitation, had granted the leave of absence. I have always thought that, however fortunate for Lieutenant Pottinger himself, his trip to Herát was an unlucky one for his country; the place would have been fought as well without him; and his presence, which would scarcely be thought accidental, though truly it was so, must not only have irritated the Persian king, but have served as a pretext for the more prominent exertions of the Russian staff. It is certain, that when he started from Kâbal he had no idea that the city would be invested by a Persian army; in proof of which I have letters from him soon after he reached; the first alluding to no such expectation, and the second describing the Persian advances as sudden, and wholly unlooked-for by the authorities.

Kámrân's army, in the early spring, had threatened Kândahár, and advanced to the Helmand, from which it moved upon Lásh and Jíwand, and then spread itself over Sístân, where the horses of the cavalry perished from disease, and the finest force which for some years had marched from Herát became disabled. In this state, the surrender of the frontier fortress of Ghorían, through treachery, reduced Kámrân to the necessity of enduring a siege.

The results are well known. The Governor-general of India, to employ the official term, *warned off* the Persians, who, nevertheless, paid so little attention to the *warning off*, that after they received it they made their last and most desperate assault on the place, when, being foiled, and sorely pressed by famine, and desertions from their camp, they retired in compliance, so they say, of his lordship's *warning off*.

Colonel Stoddart, the British representative in the Persian camp, and Lieutenant Pottinger, joined in their congratulations to the Governor-general, and ascribed to Providence the deliverance of the capital of Kámrân. God forbid that I should write profanely! but if Providence had aught to do in the matter, by all human calculation, it had intended that the Persians should have left their guns and equipage behind them, and perhaps that Máhomed Shâh, Count Simonich, M. Goutte, and

the rest, should have been picked up by the Turkomans in their flight towards Téhrân. So much good, or so much evil may have been prevented by Máhomed Shâh's compliance with the Governor-general's *warning off*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Captain Burnes's notion of his mission.—Fallacy of opening the Indus.—Remarks on commercial missions.—My correspondence.—Letters from Captain Burnes.—His arrival in Kâbal.—Defect in instructions.—Captain Wade's jealousy.—Obstacles.—Advantages.—Statement of my views.—Favourable concurrences.

In the preceding chapter I have explained the origin of Captain Burnes's mission, and shown Captain Wade's notions of its object; in the present I shall exhibit Captain Burnes's opinions, which may be best done by recourse to his letters.

"Hydrabad in Sinde, 2nd February, 1837. The growing demand for markets to the merchant throughout the world has stimulated the government, no less than the mercantile community, to make one grand attempt to open the Indus, and the countries in and beyond it, to commerce; and the government of India have reposed their confidence in me to try and work out this great end. The objects of my journey are, primarily, commercial; and my political powers cease on leaving the Indus; but we would ill discharge our duty to ourselves if we did not look to the right and left. But you

will much oblige me by giving currency, as far as is in your power, to the fact, that the main and great aim of government is to open the Indus, and to inform the chiefs in Afghânistân, and the merchants of that country, of the arrangements which have been entered into. I cannot adduce a better proof of the sincerity of government in this great national undertaking than that after I had been directed to set out, Runjeet Sing threatened Sinde, and was alone prevented by British influence from attacking it. The government said, justly, that if the balance of power on the Indus is destroyed our commercial hopes are ruined, and we have therefore concluded a treaty with the ameers, taking them under our protection, and fixing a British agent in Sinde! We have no wish to extend our political relations beyond the river, but a great one to enter into friendly commercial ones with all the chiefs between this and Persia. I might write to you very diffusely on this subject, but I think I have placed before you, in a short compass, all that is interesting, and enough, I hope, to enable you to form a judgment on the prospects of success, on the kind of reception we shall experience, and on other points; of which your local knowledge and long acquaintance qualify you, above all others, to judge. If you will favour me with that judgment, I need not assure you of the thanks which I shall owe you."

In the commencement of this letter Captain Burnes intimated his wish to be informed of the

"state of parties in Afghânistân," and, while I promised to write on that subject, I replied at once to the matter of the above extract.

The main, and great aim of government, is declared to be to open the Indus. Was the Indus ever closed, or farther closed than by its dangerous entrances and shallow depth of water? Another object was to open the countries on and beyond the Indus to commerce. Were they also ever closed? No such thing: they carried on an active, and increasing trade with India, and afforded markets for immense quantities of British manufactured goods. The governments of India and of England, as well as the public at large, were never amused and deceived by a greater fallacy than that of opening the Indus, as regarded commercial objects. The results of the policy concealed under this pretext have been the introduction of troops into the countries on and beyond the river, and of some half dozen steamers on the stream itself, employed for warlike objects, not for those of trade. There is, besides, great absurdity in commercial treaties with the states of Central Asia, simply because there is no occasion for them. From ancient and prescribed usage, moderate and fixed duties are levied; trade is perfectly free; no goods are prohibited; and the more extensive the commerce carried on the greater advantage to the state. Where, then, the benefit of commercial treaties?

However, these were points on which it would

have been unnecessary for me to catechize Captain Burnes; my duty led me to do my best to facilitate his objects, such as they were, and I answered him in the following manner.

"I have no idea that the amír, or any one here, fully appreciates the advantages of a strictly commercial treaty,—all, no doubt, look forward to some political advantages, if no other than the security of their own dominions, from a connexion of any kind with the Indian government; and although your mission be avowedly a commercial one, it may easily be brought to be considered as the step to something that may be approved of even by themselves, and to which, in the natural course of things, it must lead.

"About two years since Lord Bentinck, in a letter to the amír, first suggested some kind of commercial arrangement; his letter was not understood as it ought to have been, and the amír's reply was not so satisfactory, perhaps, as to induce his lordship to put forward a mission; but I may note, that with Lord Bentinck's letter Captain Wade addressed me, stating, that it was unnecessary to point out to me the advantages that would in consequence of such a treaty arise to the amír in the stability of his government, and so forth; and Captain Wade to the amír, either directly or through the medium of Abdúl Ghiás Khân, explained, that one of the benefits of such treaty would be, that every one should know his own boundaries. If

these advantages, held out two years since, may be held out without exceeding your instructions at this period, in case such matters should be started, there would be nearly an end to discussion. These observations, and those preceding, I make in allusion to the sole topic, upon which I apprehend you may not be prepared to reply in the manner that may be wished, but by no means intend them to be discouraging. Lord Auckland's letter on this point was even satisfactory, for, alluding to the Síkh aggressions of which the amír complained, he mentioned, that if the British government were a party between, such aggressions should or would cease,—or something to that effect,—upon which the amír observed, that was something to the point, and then added, idly, however, laughing and rubbing his hands, that he had been better pleased to be ordered to attack the infidel Ranjit."

In the reply to the letter of which the above is an extract, Captain Burnes seems to have been set into a blaze by letters from Mr. M'Neil. He writes: "It gave me very great pleasure to receive your letter of the 16th April from Jelálabád, which reached me at Bhawulpore on the 10th of May. For your luminous view of the state of affairs in Cabool, believe me, I feel deeply indebted. I would have replied to your communication instantly, being quite alive to the necessity of letting the ameer, and all concerned, know of our approach, but a most important despatch, no less than the one containing

all the views of the Governor-general on Afghânistân, was sent, by the mistake of Captain Wade's moonshee, to Mr. Mackison, and I resolved, at all hazards, to await it. It reached me late last night, and I cannot now regret the delay, as in half an hour after I received an express from Persia containing matters of the first importance. The despatch of the Governor-general I enclose, and also the confidential express from Mr. M'Neil, well assured as I am, in putting you in possession of these important documents, I am but advancing the interests of government, and shall be able through you, even before I get to Cabool to elicit information to guide my proceedings.

"To proceed, however, step by step in my inquiries and observations, it is first necessary to observe, that about ten days before I received your letter from Jelálabád, I had become cognizant, through Candahar, of the fact that Dost Mâhomed Khân had opened a communication with Persia. I forthwith despatched the information to Lord Auckland, but I was not prepared for so rapid a confirmation of the circumstance as that which I received from you. You may imagine I lost no time in despatching extracts of all parts of your letter relating to public affairs to the private secretary. I observe what you state, that the ameer's hopes from Persia have since he opened that communication greatly abated, but it was the circumstance of his opening the communication at all that appeared to me important, and to

be a subject for our serious consideration. What then was my surprise to read the communications from the King of Persia to Dost Máhomed Khân, of which Mr. M'Neil has with such dexterity possessed himself.

"The enclosed despatch of the supreme government, written to Mr. M'Neil on the 10th April, will show you that our policy in Afghânistân engages the anxious attention of government. What then, now must be the anxiety when such intrigues are brought to light? Before I heard of them I had addressed a letter to government, of which I enclose you a copy. It is not an official letter, but to the private secretary, and I do not forward to you the enclosure, which I hope soon to converse with you in person. From all these communications you will be put in the possession of the views of government, of Mr. M'Neil, and myself, and your competent knowledge, and great local experience will, I am sure, prove at this critical juncture of great service. I beg of you to favour me by writing your most unreserved sentiments. Nothing will gratify me more, and though I have published a book, and printed and written various views, no one will be more glad to alter those views than myself. I have no system to uphold but one, which is an ardent wish to place our relations in the west on such a footing as will best serve the interests of India. As yet I have no authority beyond that of conducting a *commercial* mission; but various hints

and letters, together with the chain of events now in progress, have served to convince me that a stirring time of *political* action has arrived, and I shall have to show what my government is made of, as well as myself. Waving, therefore, all what is called 'political humbug,' I have placed all matters before you. The next point to be attended to is the state of politics at Candahar, a Russian letter to the chief, and presents from the Czar. Why, zounds! this is carrying the fire to our door with a vengeance.—Nothing can come out of that scheme; but it also shows that we must be on the alert there."

On the 25th of June Captain Burnes had become more composed as he then wrote from Déra Ismael Khân: "After I last wrote to you, and four or five days had elapsed, I received an express from Lord Auckland's secretary on the first news of the intentions of Dost Máhomed Khân (to attack the Síkhs). These, as you may well imagine, gave cause for alarm, and I was instructed to delay my advance till I got instructions, which would follow in a day or two. These instructions have now reached me; and though prudence dictates a cautious line of procedure, still I am left at liberty to advance if I choose; and the government hope *I may do good*. I have, therefore, addressed Dost Máhomed Khân, and a copy of the letter I enclose for your information. The original I send; also letters for the nawâb and Mirza Sami Khân, which you will very much oblige

me by delivering, in the way which you may judge most suitable. You will see that I have been very explicit with the ameer; and if he could but see his own interests he would make terms with the Seiks *from himself*, and leave us unfettered; in which I see to him much good. The British government contemplate no employment of its *power* in Cabool, though it ardently wishes for peace on its frontier; and it is also most anxious that no further injury should be done to the Afghâns; but this must depend on the Afghâns themselves. You will well imagine how anxiously I shall look out for replies to these communications. I feel myself gifted with much more latitude since I last wrote to you, but I must see with my own eyes before acting, or recommending action, and it will never do to offend Runjeet Sing, whose alliance we court, and must cherish."

Captain Burnes's next letter to me, on the 25th July, was alike moderate. The collision between the Síkhs and Afghâns had passed over; with reference to which he wrote: "It really seems to me that matters have subsided into a better form than was to be anticipated, though I quite agree in the observation made by you, in one of your letters to Captain Wade, that a very free use of the name of the British government seems to have been made."

"I shall not fail to inform Captain Wade of the arrival of the elchee from Persia by the first packet. The designs from the west require to be sedulously watched, though I have received

much support to my opinions from finding you so strong upon the improbability of Shia ascendency in Cabool. I always looked upon it as highly improbable."

On the 6th August Captain Burnes wrote from camp, near Attok:—"At Hasan Abdall, on the 1st, I had the satisfaction of receiving your communication of the 16th, by my own cossids; and if I have already felt myself obliged by your full exposition of the state of affairs in Cabool, I must say that you have, if possible, increased my obligation by this most valuable communication. You have laid before me the rocks which endanger every movement; and so foul is the path that I much fear, with such a beacon, I shall yet be involved in great embarrassments. I have only one sheet-anchor left, which is, that they will be roused in Calcutta to make some decided exertion, at variance with our late sleepy policy; and if they act not thus, I even question the propriety of their having ever deputed me to Cabool. The ameer's letter which you enclosed is the counterpart of the original. I looked upon it as satisfactory, but there was still a tone and tenor in it which I do not like, and which your letter completely explained. I do not think the British government is in a humour to be trifled with; and if the ameer hopes to play off the offers of Bokhára and Persia, to quicken us in our movements, he may fail. If, however, government attaches importance to the communications from Russia (and I shall won-

der much if they do not do so) their proceedings may be very different, for I do not apprehend we should ever submit to a Russian intrigue near our own frontier without seeking to counteract it, and that had we not been already sent, some one of our nation must have followed, or they must have sent you yourself powers.

"The audacity of Máhomed Hussein, whose letters you enclosed, astounds me; he is, however, a very Persian. I translated the epistles, and sent them on to the private secretary. They require no comment. This letter is by no means meant as an answer to your last communication. That I have studied, and reperused with great care, and it has instilled into my mind some doubts, which are always wholesome. It seems, however, certain, that we must form some connexion with Cabool, and it is more the way in which that should be brought about that puzzles, than the kind of connexion — so conflicting and various are the interests.

"It will interest you to know, that Captain Shiel, the secretary of legation at Téhrán, has accompanied a Persian elchee to Khiva and Bokhára, to put down slavery—*accompanied* I say, because it has been so communicated to me, but I question the good which can arise from such a journey—we should look nearer home. My opinions on Persian politics are very fixed. Without Mr. Macneil there we should have been soon ousted—with him the evil day only is postponed, and our connexion with the country

will end in signal discomfiture and disgrace. Taking a general view of things at present, I should not be surprised if government followed one of two views, —one is, to invest me with full powers; the other is, to direct me to stay in Cabool till I can communicate with them;—the last, and most improbable of all, is, to suspend my movements."

From Pesháwer, on the 22d of August, Captain Burnes wrote: "It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge your letter of the 12th, which reached me yesterday afternoon. At all events, your present letter sets my mind at ease regarding the feelings of Dost Máhomed Khân. The change of tone in the ameer is what I very much desired, and what I certainly hoped for, but I had also quite made up my mind to let him know at once that the British government were not likely to permit any coquetting on his part. The honour of having any agent, however humble, deputed to confer with him is by no means a small one, and if nothing took place but mere conference, and he saw his position properly, he might so strengthen himself, that in a year or two he would have no equal near him. Such at least are my sentiments; and with them you may imagine that we are not likely to be taken by storm. In fact, if Dost Máhomed Khân continues to contemplate attacks on the Seiks, and to increase his duties on the merchant, we may very well ask the utility of holding any communications with him."

"The approach of the bursting bubble of Má-

homed Hussein's mission is highly amusing. While seated on Hindoo Koosh, drinking tea and laughing at the said Mirza's fibs, which Ferdinand Mindez Pinto ne'er outdid, I little thought I was holding converse with the future ambassador of the ruler of Cabool to the King of Kings! Among other curiosities to show you on the affairs of nations, I have a very *morceau* in the shape of forged credentials from the ameer to Lord Auckland in behalf of Hajee Hussein Khân!! I possess the original, and a rarer bit of Hajee Babaism I have not seen."

Captain Burnes next wrote me from Dáka, on the 4th of September, when, having cleared the Khaibar Pass, he had entered Dost Máhomed Khân's dominions. He then said, "I have no means of doing justice to your many and considerate letters. Lying before me are those of the 14th, 17th, 23rd, and 26th of August, and yours of the 27th has just been put into my hands.

"The view which you have taken of Peshâwer being passed over to Súltân Máhomed Khân, is to me very satisfactory. I am not without hope that we shall, in course of time, be able to work out this matter; but it would be presumption in the extreme to hope for it if certain circumstances, which I shall unfold, did not lead me to have a well-grounded hope. I should like to have the amír's own views; Sooltan Máhomed Khân's I have, and, if I am not deceived, an inkling of those of

Runjeet Singh. Had we not had to pull the *Khalsa's* rein in Sinde, I should have said, that the adjustment of it amounted to a certainty; and I now believe that the drain which Pesháwer is upon his finances, his wish to please us, and other things combined, will, in the end, tend to adjustment.

"The non-arrival of the Persian elchee is amusing enough. I suppose he has had his *coup de grace*, for the ameer cannot surely put any reliance after such an exposure of Máhomed Hoosein's fabrications. We have no late news here of affairs to the west.

"Your letter to Captain Wade I perused, and sent on by the cossid from Ali Musjeed. I really do not comprehend Captain Wade's allusion to the state of affairs in Persia being favourable; my accounts, as I interpret them, speak to the contrary. I am glad the panic, from the contents of his letter, has been removed, and I am a good deal amused at what he says about the 'Governor-General and I have both been inculcating peace, &c.' Had I known such *inculcation* I need not have written, as I did, from Dera Ismael Khan; but I hope soon to read a lesson *in propriá personá* to Dost Máhomed Khân, and let him know what are and what are not the views of the British government, though it would indeed be gratifying to myself if I were better informed on them than I am. My last accounts from Calcutta are, in plain English, as follows: that Lord Auckland looks with great anxiety to hear from me in Cabool

after I have seen *about me*; the meaning of which is clear enough, that they are to act after I have reported. This looks like *toasting* our toes at Cabool for the winter."

From Chupreeal, on the 9th of September, Captain Burnes wrote: "I am glad to say that an important express has reached me since I last addressed you, which will not make me afraid to meet Dost Máhomed Khân, for I have it now in my power to be of service to him, but I shall not speculate at length on the subject now. I am very anxious to have the ameer's own views of his own affairs, for on them a good deal will depend. I need only tell you, in confidence, that the adjustment of Peshâwer is nearer than ever, if not mismanaged, and you well know how easy it is to do that, even without Afghâns, and their proverbial stupidity.

"I do certainly consider Dost Máhomed Khân has it in his power to become a great man, if he can resist the pressure from without (as the politicians say at home) of his own family, and act for himself.

"I have had my attention most especially called to the affairs of Candahar; and, more opportunely than I could have hoped for, I have just received a despatch from thence, old in date certainly, but full of particulars of the way the sirdárs went about their communications with Russia, which bear the stamp of truth, and confirm much of what Mr. M'Neil writes. My account of the el-

chee's revels coincide with your own; and in preparing my despatch I shall note the coincidences between the information. I imagine the elchee will not come to Cabool; but what think you of the sirdárs having sent other letters, and another envoy to Téhrân and the Russian minister?"

From Tézín Captain Burnes wrote, on the 16th of September: "The accounts from Candahar are really perplexing. The information you convey tallies well with what I have received; only that the Candahar sirdárs have, I hear, of themselves, detained Kumber Ali, and got him to write to the shâh, as they have themselves done, that Cabool is of no use to his Majesty, and Candahar is the ground to work upon!!! *Tant mieux*. In the same truth, Kohan Dil Khân writes me a more than friendly letter, and his brothers are equally amicable."

On the 18th of September Captain Burnes reached Bhút Khâk, where I paid him a visit, and remained with him the following day. Our conversation was nearly exclusively on political matters; and I must confess I augured very faintly of the success of his mission, either from his manner or from his opinion "that the Afghâns were to be treated as children," a remark that drew from me the reply, that he must not then expect them to behave as men. On the 20th of September I returned to the city, after breakfast, and Captain

Burnes being met on the road by Máhomed Akbar Khân, was escorted with all honour to the presence of Dost Máhomed Khân.

I have not judged it necessary to make any comments upon the various extracts I have submitted from Captain Burnes's letters. If Captain Wade may be charged with doing too little, I think it may be conceited that Captain Burnes was inclined to do too much. What I conceived my duty had led me, as will have been seen, at the earliest period of my correspondence with Captain Burnes to press upon him the necessity of having clear instructions, and of being prepared to meet the proposals likely to be made to him. I had reasons to suspect that the then government of India was a weak government, and I was aware that missions are put forth in a loose manner. I also foresaw the evils which delay would excite with impatient people, and I could but know that in less than four months no answer from Calcutta to any communication could be received. It was therefore clearly proper, as well as essential to success, that Captain Burnes should come as well prepared as possible. I was, moreover, conscious of the jealousy of the political agent at Lúdiána, who had informed the authorities at Kâbal, through Abdúl Ghíás Khân, that he would have been a fitter person than Captain Burnes for the mission, and would have done more for them than he could do, on account of his

influence with Ranjit Singh. I also knew that Captain Wade could depend on the support of Mr. Secretary Macnaghten. On the other hand, Captain Burnes was agreeable to Lord Auckland, and had the privilege of constant communication with the private secretary, Mr. Colvin,—sufficient to protect him from evil influences, had he used it wisely.

In conformity to the request of Captain Burnes, I sent him a paper on the state of parties in Kâbal. I afterwards did more, and entered into a detail of the conflicting interests in Afghânistân, and the mode in which, in my opinion, they were to be approached and reconciled. When at Bombay, in 1841, I wrote to Sir Alexander Burnes at Kâbal, hoping he would not object to send me copies of these two documents. I sailed for England before his reply, if he made any, could have reached me, and since no letter of his has been forwarded to me. Nothing would have given me greater satisfaction than to have been enabled to publish these papers, for not only would they have shown my views and opinions, but I may fancy they would have established that the Afghân affairs were capable of settlement, and that the settlement was in our power at that time. My proposal was simply, that Peshâwer,—the assumption of which by Ranjit Singh had brought on all our evils,—should be restored to Súltân Máhomed Khân; in fact, that a mere act of justice should be done.

By this the chiefs of Kândahár would be at once reconciled, while Dost Máhomed Khan would have no alternative but to acquiesce; still, as to his exertions, in some measure, the restitution might be held due, I proposed that Súltân Máhomed Khân should pay annually a sum, more or less, not exceeding a lákh of rupees, from his revenues, which I did not doubt he would gladly do, as the price of being relieved from Síkh control, and of the possession of the entire country. The Síkhs, having built a capacious and strong fortress at Pesháwer, I foresaw they might either propose to leave a garrison in it or wish to dismantle it. It appeared to me better that it should remain an Afghân bulwark; and as the expense in the construction was not considerable, and I was well aware that Súltân Máhomed Khân had no funds, I submitted, that the government might advance the one or two lákhs which would be required, unless indeed the restored sirdár should pay it off by instalments. To see that these arrangements were carried into effect and duly observed, I proposed that a superior agent should reside at Kâbal, and subordinate ones at Kândahár and Pesháwer, as checks upon the conduct of the chiefs, and for the purposes of seeing what was going on, but without exercising any kind of interference in other matters.

I never once alluded to Persian and Russian intrigues; I hold them now ridiculous; I held them

so then; but while removing effectually the only causes which could make them of any import, I suggested (seeing, from the jealousy the Barák Zai chiefs entertained of Kámrân, it would be imprudent that the agent at Kâbal should have anything to do with him or his affairs,) that Herát should be placed in correspondence with the envoy at Téhrân, and that an officer to that state should be furnished from the mission there.

While perfectly aware that the occupation of Pesháwer was unprofitable, and the constant source of alarm and inquietude to Ranjit Singh, and satisfied that he would relinquish it, if solicited by the Indian government as a favour to do so, I had not hoped that he would voluntarily come forward, and express a desire to be eased of it. As he did, it was only by the mismanagement which Captain Burnes, in his letter from Chapríâl, deprecated, that our relations with the Afghân states were not placed on as fair a footing as it was needful they should be; for my experience had brought me to the decided opinion that any strict alliance with powers so constituted would prove only productive of mischief and embarrassment, while I still thought that British influence might be usefully exerted in preserving the integrity of the several states, and putting their rulers on their good behaviour.

Another unexpected piece of good fortune happened about this time, inasmuch as Kámrân, in

his intercourse with Mr. M'Neil, consented to acknowledge the independence of the Bárak Zai chiefs, in return for being secured against the attacks of Persia, so that nothing was wanting to the success of Captain Burnes's mission but his own ability to avail himself of so great and unexpectedly concurring advantages.

CHAPTER XIX.

Captain Burnes's conversations.—His humility.—Visit of Mírza Samí Khân.—Resolutions of the amir and his advisers.—Their disclosure.—My dissent.—The nawab's opinion.—Nature of the question.—Captain Burnes's notice of proposals.—Recommendations to Lord Auckland.—Unnecessary alarms of Persia.—Captain Burnes's delusion as to the amir. — Captain Burnes's neglect.—Dispute on prerogative.—Arrival of Vektavich.—His suspicious credentials.—Dismay of Captain Burnes.—His imprudent admissions. — Hússén Alí. — Opinions at Kâbal. — Replies of Government.—Despatch of Lieut. Leech to Kândahár. —Rejection of Dost Máhomed Khân's proposals. —Perplexing state of the mission. — Absence of nawâb. — Rage of Dost Máhomed Khân.—Unpleasant stay in Kâbal.—Letter from the Chairman of the Court of Directors.—Interview with Mirza Samí Khân. — His remarks. — Intimation to quit Kabal. — Darbár conversations.—Determination to leave.—Proposals to seize Captain Burnes.—Assault on my house.—Good-will of the inhabitants.—Parting interview with Mírza Samí Khan.— Remarks on the mission. — The Afghânistân correspondence.— Delusive intelligence and reports.—Object of Vektavich.—His reply to Dost Máhomed Khân.—His return to Kândahár.— Abú Khân.—Hâjí Hússén Alí Khân, the Persian ambassador.

The day after Captain Burnes's arrival he placed before me the official documents relating to his mission. I observed, after reading the instructions, so called, that they were really none at all. He replied, that Dr. Lord on joining him at Haidarabád had made the same remark.

Captain Burnes repeatedly saw the amír; and his conversations were not of the most prudent kind, at least as I thought, for I considered it very unadvisable to excite expectations not likely to be realized, and to instruct a man, disposed to be sanguine enough, how essential his alliance was to the British government. The amír and Mírza Samí Khân were satisfied to listen to Captain Burnes; and did not explain their pretensions; alleging, that after his long journey a few days repose was required: their objects being to ascertain the temper and habits of the envoy, as well as to agree amongst themselves on the terms to be proposed to him.

The amír had every reason to exult in the humility of his new guest, who never addressed him but with his hands closed, in the attitude of supplication, or without prefacing his remarks with "Gharíb nawâz," your humble petitioner, which acquired for him in Kâbal the sobriquet of Gharíb Nawâz. My friends used jocularly to tell me, I might as well leave; and the amír himself was well pleased to find Captain Burnes more compliant and obsequious than I had been. The Nawâb Jabár Khân, however, took the liberty of remonstrating with the envoy, and pointed out to him, that an agent of the British government had no occasion to fear, and that he might possibly repent having assumed so submissive a tone.

Nothing could be more certain than that British reputation was highly considered in Kâbal; and it

was supposed that a British mission would be conducted with a certain degree of decorum. It excited universal surprise to witness the contrary, and that the revels of Kamber Ali at Kândahár were surpassed by the amír's new guests at Kâbal. The amír, while receiving continual reports of what was going on, forbad any notice to be taken, rejoicing perhaps that the envoy's intrigues were of any other than a political nature, and well satisfied that the mission should disappoint public expectation.

Mírza Samí Khàn observing how matters stood, honoured me with a visit at my house, the first he had ever made me; and after a few long-winded observations, proposed that I should imitate the example of my illustrious superiors, and fill my house with black-eyed damsels. I observed, that my house was hardly large enough, and he said that I should have Shâhzâda Ashraf's house, near the amír's palace. I then asked, where the damsels were to come from; and he replied, I might select any I pleased, and he would take care I should have them. I told him, his charity exceeded all praise, but I thought it better to go on quietly in my old way,—and he dropped the subject. I related to the nawâb and others what had passed, and we had a good laugh at the mirza's expense, though all agreed it was well that one of us should refrain from committing himself, as strange things were likely to happen. The subject of the intercourse with Captain Burnes naturally occupied the atten-

tion of the amír and his friends; and Mírza Samí Khân and Mírza Imâm Verdí were selected to conduct it. The next step was to consider the terms for proposal to the British government; and these being resolved on, I was favoured by a visit from the two mirzas. They reminded me of the solicitude I had shown that the reception of the mission should be honourable and becoming, and appealing to me that they had done all that was required, entreated, in return, that I would support their interests. I had only to reply that, by representation to Captain Burnes, and I could do no more, I would support them, if I could with a clear conscience do so; and I prayed them, for the sake of impossible or unlikely advantages, not to neglect what was in their power to gain. They then revealed the proposal they had agreed upon, which was, that Peshâwer was to be made over to the amír, as the *sine quá non* of any understanding with the British government. I at once told them, that Captain Burnes might do as he pleased, but that I should dissuade him from listening to any such terms. Mírza Samí Khân was now anxious to show me that his proposition originated with Mírza Imâm Verdí, and not with himself, and made the latter say so, who maintained that such an arrangement was only due as a consequence of the victory at Jamrúd. I set my face entirely against the proposal, and regretted that they should have determined upon it; and they left me, Mírza Samí Khân

always exculpating himself from the charge of having originated it.

The Nawâb Jabár Khân strongly pressed upon Captain Burnes the necessity of firmly rejecting the proposal about to be made to him, on which so much depended. I did the same, in the most forcible manner I could; and showed him how Mírza Samí Khân, anticipating his rejection, was ready to excuse himself as being the author of it, and to cast its blame upon Mírza Imâm Verdí; or, in fact, that the proposal was not expected to be received. I submitted to Captain Burnes that his course was a very clear one. The pleasure of Ranjit Singh to give up Pesháwer afforded the opportunity of settling the Afghân question in a manner which could not have been looked for. It might be made to benefit the brothers at Kândahár and Pesháwer equally with Dost Máhomed Khân, and the British government would, at all events, have done its duty to them, and have fulfilled its wish to benefit the Afghân nation. Captain Burnes urged that Dost Máhomed Khân's pleasure might not be consulted, were Pesháwer made over to Súltân Máhomed Khân. I replied, that I believed it would whatever he might say to the contrary, but if not, let the arrangement be made without him; he would soon crave to be admitted a party to it, as he would not venture to avow interests in opposition to those of all his countrymen, and could not afford to stand in the

light of a proscribed person. Captain Burnes did not intimate what course he would pursue; but in due time the interview with him and the mírzas took place. After it was over I received a note from him, which will at all events prove he was not taken by surprise.

"I have had Mirza Samee and Imam Verdee with me since breakfast, and they have just made known to me what you wrote, and I shall tell you my answer when we meet you in the evening."

Before the evening came I had learned, from rumour, what the answer had been, and a more unfortunate one could not have been made. It had spread over the city, and become the talk of the bazár; and an expression of the envoy's, that Ranjit Singh would be so delighted when he heard the amír's proposal that he would fire a shelyek, or salvo of artillery, was repeated by every one in ridicule.

When I saw Captain Burnes he explained, that the mírzas had proposed, in return for the cession of Pesháwer to the amír, that one of the latter's sons should reside at Lahore with the máhárájá as a hostage for his father's good behaviour. He said, that he was so astonished that he made the mírzas thrice repeat what they had said, to be sure there was no mistake; and that, satisfied there was none, he had told them all would be settled as they wished. I could only express my fears that the worst results would follow.

By this stroke the chiefs of Kândahár, who had suffered Kamber Alí to depart, began, in self-defence, to renew their correspondence with Persia. The Nawâb Jabár Khân, and principals of the Súní party at Kâbal, ceased to interest themselves in the success of the mission, and either seldom visited the darbár, or, when there never talked on business. No person of any respectability or character ever called on Captain Burnes, and the mission was left to follow up its irregular career, and to sink into contempt.

Captain Burnes, as soon as he reached Kâbal, had intimated to Lord Auckland the advisability of making the offer to Dost Máhomed Khân of guaranteeing to him the possession of Peshâwer on the death of Ranjit Singh; he had now to forward his new proposals. In less than three months, under any circumstances, replies could not be expected. Dost Máhomed Khân, for the moment supposing that Captain Burnes would not approve the proposal unless certain it would be acted upon, was satisfied; but the restlessness of the Kândahár sirdárs a little disturbed the leisure which Captain Burnes had gained. The correspondence with them led to an offer by him to supply them with three lákhs of rupees to repel any attack from Persia. I remonstrated as much as I could against this offer, and Captain Burnes finally apprised me he had made it, observing, "Masson, I have gone the whole hog."

It may be right to notice that, in the absence of special instructions for his guidance, Captain Burnes considered it was the intention of government that he should do what seemed to him best, when, if he chanced to do what was thought proper, he would receive unbounded applause; if the contrary, he would be wigged. Agreeably to his purpose of magnifying the danger to be apprehended from Persia, and of attaching importance to transactions at Kândahár, he contemplated the despatch of Lieutenant Leech, one of his assistants, to that place. I opposed the measure, thinking that, unless matters were settled at Kâbal, it would only increase embarrassment. I moreover felt certain it must be totally at variance with Dost Máhomed Khân's wishes, an immaterial point, if any benefit were to accrue from it; still, what might be attended to, when, as I clearly saw, evil was likely to arise from it. Captain Burnes most positively affirmed that the amír was consenting, or that Mírza Samí Khân so assured him, which made me suspect that the amír and his mírza might be pleased to witness the farther complication such a visit would occasion. There was some delay, however, in the departure of Lieutenant Leech.

I had from the beginning cautioned Captain Burnes not to be deceived by Dost Máhomed Khân. He argued, "Oh, Masson, he is so shrewd—he talks so sensibly." I admitted that he could do all that; still he was to be taken care off. I had no better

success than had the nawâb, who alike endeavoured to persuade him that Dost Máhomed Khân was anything but an angel. From my knowledge of the amír, I could smile at receiving such notes as this: "I never had so kind a reception—he is everything to us!"—"All went nobly on last night; he was quite pleased," &c. A very little time, however, sufficed to permit the growth of doubts in the amír's mind, whether the confidence of Captain Burnes as regarded Pesháwer would be shared in by his superiors at Calcutta, and he began to pay him much less attention and respect, and Mírza Samí Khân ceased to call upon him so frequently and so regularly as before. Indeed the conduct of the mission was often discussed in the darbár, and many expressed their opinions that the amír had deceived himself. Still, the infatuation of the envoy seemed as strong as ever; and he was apparently secure in the conviction that government would not fail to adopt his recommendations. On one occasion, Dost Máhomed Khân being told he did wrong to expect Pesháwer from Captain Burnes, Mírza Samí, present, said, he would step over to him and ask. He represented to Captain Burnes that certain monáfikân, disaffected persons, had said, the amír reposed foolishly on his promises. The envoy replied: "Only wait till Lord Auckland's letter arrives, and, by the grace of God, the faces of the monáfikân shall be blackened." With this answer the mírza returned in great glee to the darbár.

Conscious that Dost Máhomed Khân's proposition would not be supported by the government, and equally aware that its rejection would give rise to violent anger and disappointment, I much strove to induce Captain Burnes to urge upon government the advantage of ascertaining exactly Ranjit Singh's wishes as to Pesháwer, that we might be prepared to meet the storm we had to encounter at Kâbal by counter-propositions. Not suspecting that government would object to his recommendation, Captain Burnes did not think this necessary, and neglected it for a long time, and until too late. He was in correspondence with Captain Wade, but it was of a kind rather to delay than to promote business. In a note to me Captain Burnes writes: "Here are all—You'll see Wade has got it again from government for 'commenting' on my letters. I am astounded at his not having told Ranjit Singh a word of what has passed here. No wonder he is surprised."

That the máhárájá was surprised is beyond doubt, for with his news-writers at Kâbal he could not but be aware of Captain Burnes's intercourse with the amír, and of what had passed between them, for that was known to every pumpkin-seller in the bazár. He in consequence addressed a letter to the envoy, warning him that the Afghâns were interested and bad people, and that Dost Máhomed Khân was a very wicked man, and a liar, but that Súltân Máhomed Khân was in the sirkár's service, and had

been useful to him. I thought the purport of this letter was very plain, but Captain Burnes showed it to the amír on the idea that it was intended to be shown to him, and informed the máhárájá he had done so. I ventured to predict Ranjit Singh would not again address him, nor did he.

Captain Burnes, in place of urging upon Captain Wade the necessity of ascertaining the máhárájá's wishes, entered into a discussion about "prerogative,"—a note I have will explain its origin. "Read you ever such insolence. The man talks of prerogative!" Captain Wade had declared, that to comment on Captain Burnes's despatches was his prerogative. Captain Burnes retorted, that prerogative was only enjoyed by kings; and Captain Wade answered, that he was mistaken, and sent him the meaning of the word from Johnson's Dictionary! Two months were wasted in this very profitable discussion.

On the 19th of December Lieutenant Vektavich reached Kâbal, and rather suddenly, for we had scarcely heard of his arrival at Kândahár when he made his appearance. The sirdárs of that place were willing to have detained him, but he threw his papers on the ground, and menaced them with the Emperor of Russia's vengeance should they do so; when, finding they had a very different kind of a person than Kamber Alí to deal with, they permitted him to proceed. His arrival at Killa Kází was announced to the amír, and some one

was sent to inquire his rank, that his reception might be regulated. He replied, that he was no elchí, but a messenger, or bearer of letters. Count Nesselrode has since made him a commercial envoy; if so, it was entirely unknown to himself, or denied by him. Mírza Samí Khân inquired of the amír, where he should be lodged, and receiving a very careless reply, again submitted that it was proper he should be informed. The amír said, "lodge him with Máhomed Hússén at the nawâb's, and there will be two lútías, or buffoons, together." The mírza had difficulty to get a better reply, but it was finally settled that the mírza himself should look after him, as, under his eye he could hold no improper communications.

The sirdárs of Kândahár had written to the amír that they did not know what to make of the Cossack, or of the letter he had with him, which wanted signature and seal. Múlla Rashíd did the same, but also sent a show-letter, published in page 7 of the Correspondence relating to Afghânistân, which, for want of something better, has found a place there, although it explains, in the postscript, its object to "rouse the mind of Alexander Burnes."

The letter, dated 23rd December, 1837, from Captain Burnes to Lord Auckland, recording the former's views and recommendations, and of which extracts are given in page 9 and 10 of the Correspondence, is too curious a document for me to

pass over in silence, particularly as I must state, once for all, that Captain Burnes never showed me any of his despatches to government at the time they were sent, the reason I knew to be that I should have protested against them. On the other hand, all despatches from the government, and even private letters from India and England, were sent to me as soon as received. This explanation is necessary with respect to this letter, No. 6. The reports of Vektavich's conversations with the amír are absolutely false. Captain Burnes gives them on the authority of two sources, both of whom were instructed by Mírza Samí Khân to delude him, the object being, like that of Múlla Rashíd, to "rouse the mind of Alexander Burnes."

The arrival of Vektavich completely overpowered the British envoy, and he abandoned himself to despair. He bound his head with wet towels and handkerchiefs, and took to the smelling-bottle. It was humiliating to witness such an exhibition, and the ridicule to which it gave rise. The amír called on the disconcerted envoy, and Mírza Samí Khân brought over the letter said to be from the emperor, for both of them had suspicions, in common with the Kândahár sirdárs, that it might not be genuine, and so they told Captain Burnes, who, however, at once assured them it was genuine, and that there could be no doubt of it. After this imprudent admission, the amír was at liberty to play off the Russian and the Imperial letter. The latter, however, was

left with Captain Burnes to be copied. I unhesitatingly expressed my opinion that the letter was a fabrication, as far as the emperor was concerned, but that it was very probably got up in the Persian camp before Herát, because without some such document Vektavich would not have dared to show himself in Afghânistân. Captain Burnes pointed out to me the large exterior seal on the envelope, on which were the Russian arms. I sent for a loaf of Russian sugar from the bázar, at the bottom of which we found precisely the same kind of seal. Captain Burnes shrugged his shoulders, elevated his eyebrows, and rolled his tongue round his cheek, but he had done the evil in not allowing the amír and Mírza Samí Khân the benefit of their own doubts. Count Nesselrode, in acknowledging the mission of Vektavich, may be supposed to have adopted this letter, although he does not expressly do so; I still, however, believe it to have been a fabrication, while admitting the Russian minister's dexterity in relinquishing projects he never entertained. It may be further remarked of this document, that it was not written by the count at the emperor's command, but purported to be from the emperor himself, another proof, in my estimation, that it was not genuine,—however, on that very account well calculated to deceive Dost Máhomed Khân. The arrival of Vektavich with his letter astonished the amír, particularly as he was unconscious of having written a letter to Russia, and for

the moment did not remember Hússén Alí, and he required to be told that he was the son of Bájí Múrwârí. He then observed I gave him no letters, and Mírza Samí Khân explained that he had written one, and claimed to himself much credit for having procured the amír the honour of a reply from the emperor. Whether the amír believed his mírza or not, I cannot tell.

It was known that Hússén Alí had accompanied Vektavich from Bokhára to Orenburg. His non-appearance with the Cossack officer was considered in Kâbal badly accounted for by the pretence stated of his being sick at Moscow, and the general opinion was, that Vektavich had murdered him—and this I state not wishing to belie Vektavich, but to show the little respect in which he and his mission were held by all, alas! but the British envoy—Vektavich indeed had a musket with him which was known to have belonged to Hússén Alí.

The reception of Vektavich was not such as he had reason to boast of, and in the house of Mírza Samí Khân he resided, in fact, under surveillance.

Replies to Captain Burnes' letters, and to his proposals to the government had begun to arrive. The government was then in possession of sobriety of judgment and honourable feeling, from which it since so strangely wandered. To the proposal that a promise should be made to the amír, of Pesháwer on the death of Ranjit Singh, the reply was dignified and

proper, deprecating the delicacy of speculating on the death of an individual. To the proposal to elevate Dost Máhomed Khân to great dignity and power, the reply was, wisely, that it was not the policy of the government to establish a great Máhomedan kingdom in that quarter.

Immediately after the arrival of Vektavich, Lieutenant Leech was sent to Kândahár; he was furnished with no instructions, for none could be given to him; his presence was to create what is so vaguely termed a moral influence. I entirely disapproved his mission, but Captain Burnes persisted it was with the pleasure of the amír, which I, nevertheless, could not believe. There can be no doubt that Lieutenant Leech signalized himself at Kândahár. With his method of establishing a moral influence I have nothing to do, but a note to me from Captain Burnes may throw a little light on his political proceedings. "Here is a letter from Leech. He has done I think quite right to advise Meher Dil to come here and to raise Ghazees—and I am glad to see he knows our footing with Persia so well." In the evening when I saw Captain Burnes I told him that I thought Leech had done quite wrong, and suspecting it might be so, in his despatches to government he *suppressed* all that had been written about the Ghazees, or so he informed me.

At length a reply was received from government to the despatch of Captain Burnes reporting

the offer of a sum of money, — three lákhs of rupees —to Kândahár for the purpose of repelling Persia. The Governor-general in the strongest terms expressed his regret and disappointment, and directed Captain Burnes to rescind his offer which, as very correctly stated, involved the grave questions of peace and war. The despatch was a very long one, and a letter from the private secretary apprised Captain Burnes that it was specially dictated by the Governor-general. His lordship here omitted to do what was farther necessary — to recal the envoy whose acts had the tendency to commit and embarrass the government. The folly of sending such a man as Captain Burnes without the fullest and clearest instructions, was now shown, and to do him justice, he observed that had a similar exposition of the government views been furnished to him in the first instance, he would never have committed himself. Recovering a little from the alarm it occasioned him, he still affected to believe his own judgment of affairs the right one, although it now became his painful task to undo all he had done, and to destroy all the expectations he had so unhappily raised in the bosom of the amír. He made a curious remark on this occasion to me, that it was strange that Lord Auckland, the Nawâb Jabár Khân and myself, held the same opinions on Afghân affairs, never I suspect conceiting that we might be right and he wrong.

The proposal to give Pesháwer to the amír, Ran-

jit Singh receiving in return one of his sons, had never been made to the máhárájá, Captain Wade denouncing it, and I am sorry to say, justly, as "insidious,"—the government thought so too. Captain Wade, however, had not ascertained the máháraja's intentions as regarded Pesháwer, and when directed by the government to learn them, was obliged to report that the rájás had returned to Lahore, and his influence was set aside. The máhárájá's wishes were, therefore, never known, and we had no means of softening the disappointment of the amír, which any arrangement about the disputed territory might have enabled us to do.

Captain Burnes, as soon as he perceived a crisis had come on, asked where that old fool the nawâb was. He was at Tatang, where Captain Burnes a month before had sent him. The nawâb had a long time before sent his family there, but waited in Kâbal until his lordship's replies should arrive. Captain Burnes was sometimes told that he kept the nawâb from his ladies, which he took ill, and insisted that the nawâb should go down to them. I saw the old gentleman before leaving, and he laughingly said that Sekander had turned him out of Kâbal. He asked me what I thought of affairs, and I put the question to him. He said they were *ganda* or rotten. I observed, I fear so, and bantered him on getting so nicely out of the way. He promised that whenever the despatches from government reached, he would, on being informed, be in Kâbal

the day after. Captain Burnes now sent an express for the nawâb, who immediately returned to the city, after which he communicated to the amír, the contents of the letters he had received, at the same time delivering a letter to the amír's address from the Governor-general.

The conduct of Captain Burnes in this state of things was, in my opinion, neither the correct nor the judicious one. That he had approved the proposals of the amír there can be no doubt; instead, therefore, of acknowledging his own error in having done so, he adopted the strange course of calling the amír to task for having made them. A very pretty interview necessarily passed, which a note from him to me written immediately after, will, perhaps, show. "It is impossible to write all, and for me to come to you or you to me before dinner might show our funk. I gave it fearfully and left him in a furious rage, but not a word was forgotten of which I prepared for him. He gave the old story — no benefit — no one cares for a falling nation — I offered my wares for sale, and you would not buy."

I may observe that Captain Burnes had not been a month in Kâbal before Dost Máhomed Khân began to look upon him with very slight respect, and the remarks he made could scarcely be concealed from Captain Burnes. The latter alike grew to think less amiably of the amír, and used frequently to appeal to me as a witness that his opinions had

changed. God knows both the nawâb and myself had abundantly cautioned him to be on his guard from the very first. His present violent behaviour had consequently something very annoying to the amír, who in truth hardly deserved such rude treatment in this instance, which the nawâb also lamented, while wishing Captain Burnes had commenced his negotiations in a firmer tone.

From this period Captain Burnes' residence in Kâbal had become more disagreeable than before; and I do not doubt but he would have retired, had not Doctor Lord and Lieutenant Wood been some time previously sent to Kúndúz, and the latter officer had gone thence to Badakshân. It is certain he ought to have left Kâbal, for his presence was only productive of increased mischief and disgrace, —although he justified his stay to government by the common-place plea of moral effect. Dost Máhomed Khân was very uneasy, and even at times so undecided, that he once signified he was willing to accede to whatever the government wished, — another time Mírza Samí Khân proposed that the throat of Vektavich should be cut, and again promised to renounce connexion and intercourse with the west if assured of protection against Persia. I would not vouch that these offers were sincerely made, but they were made. Captain Burnes would listen to nothing, — one of his notes to me may explain why. "This brings the ameer to ask in what way he has *not* met the wishes of government. I

might have asked in return in what way *has* he? but I am sick of the matter, and visited him for three hours and never touched on business. Why should I?—Vektavich is here, and has no intention of moving,—the good ameer declines all preliminaries for peace with Ranjit Singh, and writes to Candahár, and also tells me that he has no hope from our government,—but enough."

Captain Burnes did not cease to press on the attention of government the danger from Persia and Russia; and his desire for action was admirably seconded by letters he received from England. I have a note in which is written, "I send you a letter to read from the chairman of the directors, who in truth wishes to *walk on*. I wish they would be moved who are nearer." This letter from the chairman was certainly a singular one, for it announced no less than a determination to take the Panjáb, Captain Burnes being promised the conduct of the expedition. Sir John Hobhouse, in his speech to the House of Commons on the 23rd June, 1842, states that a despatch to Lord Auckland "at the end of October, 1838, instructed his lordship in council to pursue *very nearly* the same course, which it afterwards appeared he had adopted without knowing our opinions." It appears, therefore, his lordship did not pursue *quite* the course recommended by Sir John Hobhouse and the Secret Committee, and it is not impossible the slight error was made of marching to Kâbal instead of to La-

hore, — at least, such may be inferred from this letter of the chairman, who was one of the Secret Committee. This letter was sent by Captain Burnes to Lord Auckland through the private secretary, Mr. Colvin, and came back with the expression of his lordship's approval.

My intercourse with the Amír and Mírza Samí Khân had ceased altogether, the latter, seeing the bad turn affairs had taken, now wished to see me. Captain Burnes recommended me to call on him. I was with him nearly the whole day. He commenced by setting forth that his relative, Mírza Jáfar Khân, had purchased land, had built castles, had planted orchards and vineyards, and wished to keep them,—and left me to apply the meaning of what he said. I observed that I thought I understood it, that every one desired to keep his own, which I believed was so exactly what our government wished, that I was surprised there should have been any misunderstanding on the matter. The mírza agreed that I was right. He then, with reference to the negotiations with Captain Burnes, urged that I must have known better, and I pointed out that he was well aware of my opinions from the first. I had dissuaded him from making obnoxious proposals, and Captain Burnes from listening to them. More was out of my power. He asked how could Captain Burnes, unauthorised, sanction the proposal, and how could so great a government as that of India depute a "hillah mirdem," frivolous man, as

he had proved to be? I replied that the government had sent him, believing him to be the person who would be most acceptable to them, and I prayed Mírza Samí not to allow any presumed defect in Captain Burnes' manner to make him lose sight of that officer's good intentions, for, however he had erred, and I regretted he had done so, it was still in the wish to serve them that he had incurred the displeasure of government. He next alluded to the despatch of Lieutenant Leech to Kândahár, and said the amír was much pleased with me for having remonstrated against it. I urged that Captain Burnes constantly assured me that the amír was delighted at his going. The mírza said on the contrary, but that they assented, lest Captain Burnes should take it ill. I then remarked that here was the cause of all our evil,—you say what you do not mean; but, unluckily, Captain Burnes has not had sufficient experience of you to know it, and he takes you at your word, but again you are to blame and not he. But what a *ghúl* to send! remarked the mírza. He then mentioned the despatch of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood to Kúndúz, and said they did not go to cure Máhomed Morád Beg's brother's eye, but to visit Badakshân; and further, that Badrodín had received a letter from Mírza Badía telling him that Dr. Lord, instead of curing the diseased eye, had put the sound one out. Lieutenant Vektavich and his letter were discussed, the document being displayed before us. I persisted

that I had little faith in it, explaining for what reasons, and most certainly the mírza was as little credulous as I was. He inquired whether the Russians would do such a thing as to send a fabricated letter. I at once exonerated the Emperor, but thought it very likely Goutte and such people would. This led me to explain to him that any hope of benefiting by a collision between England and Russia was ridiculous; for not only did friendly relations exist between the two states, but should differences arise they would be adjusted in Europe, not in Kâbal. We talked a long time about Herát and Persia, and I endeavoured to convince him that it was nonsensical to have any apprehension from Máhomed Shâh, for he could never dream of coming into Afghânistán unless positively invited, which, again, were any of the chiefs there to do, the mass of the people would reject both them and him. If by any infatuation, contrary to all probability, he should advance, it would only be to be lúted, or plundered. The question of Pesháwer was then broached, and he said that if it were given to Súltân Máhomed Khân, it would be right to recompense the amír for having maintained him and his adherents in exile. I did not tell him that I had recommended a sum annually to be given to the amír on this very account, but contented myself by observing the amír had a claim on that head to consideration.—He then said that many of Sultân Máhomed Khân's old servants now in the amír's service

would leave it; I remarked that it would be better they should, the amír's finances would be eased, and at Kâbal they would only do harm by their intrigues. I spoke in the most unreserved manner of the danger of their position, and repeated to him what I had before told him on more than one occasion, that the present state of affairs in Kâbal could not endure, and that the government, embarrassed as it was, must fall to pieces unless supported by the aid and countenance the British government in deputing Captain Burnes had tendered. Mirza Samí Khân did not deny the truth of this, but he asked, "To what are we to agree?" No question could be more perplexing. My reply was, "By heavens! I know no more than you, but I am certain you will not be required to agree to anything hurtful," and then added, "We must agree to everything without knowing what, and then we shall find out." Before we separated, it was arranged that Mírza Samí Khân, who had discontinued his visits to Captain Burnes, should call on him the next day, and I was to attend. The next day I heard nothing more, but on the following I was sent for. Mírza Samí Khân was disgusted at Captain Burnes' declamation, and I must confess I was no less so. It was clear enough it was no longer wished to settle matters.

Both the amír and Mírza Samí Khân had intimated to Captain Burnes that business was over, but that he might, if he chose, remain a month or so at Kâbal, which was understood, by every one but

himself, as a wish he should leave, but it was not convenient to do so until Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood returned.

This delay brought about many unpleasant circumstances and discussions. Some of the people, who had kept aloof since the arrival of the mission, one evening ventured to ask the amír what he was doing with Sekander. He replied that he did not know. He had told him to go, but he stayed; he was ignorant for what object. They suggested he should send for me. He said he would, and if satisfied with what I said, he would throw himself on the government. Two messages were brought to me that the amír was in the humour to have a conversation with me, and informing Captain Burnes, I remained at home, supposing I might be sent for. It did not happen so; when the darbár was over, interested persons contrived to draw his attention to other things, and it was forgotten. I could have seen him at any time, but refrained from troubling him, for I well knew, however I might be able to bring him to think reasonably, Captain Burnes would spoil what would be done.

Some indelicate exposures, affecting some of the suite of Captain Burnes, probably accelerated his departure, for suddenly he determined to move without waiting for the arrival of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood, who were on the road to join him. I never knew the exact reason for the pre-

cipitancy, and thought, as he had waited so long, he might have remained another two or three days for his companions.

The contempt into which the mission had fallen, indeed, prompted certain persons to propose to the amír the seizure and spoil of the envoy, and while proffering to commit the deed they had repeated the fátíha in his presence. The amír did not sanction the measure, although he did not rebuke the proposers. A very general report spread over the country, that Captain Burnes was to be made a victim, but I understood the intention, never perhaps entertained by the amír, was abandoned; indeed, at that time, it would have been perilous in the extreme to have attempted such a thing, and there were plenty of us in Kâbal to have made it recoil on those who imagined it.

I had, during my residence at Kâbal, been favoured with many attacks on my house, the last I experienced about this time. I was sitting alone in my room with the door open, and had just time to close it against a party coming up the stairs. In their flight they fell one over the other, and then over some water-jars at the bottom of the staircase. After leaving Kâbal, I became informed of two of the men employed on this occasion, although such knowledge did not enlighten me as to their employers.

When it was known in Kâbal that we were about to leave, there was a wish on the part of

many of the inhabitants to present me with an address, which I declined; it was suggested it might serve me with the government, but I protested against any favour from the government to be gained by such an instrument.

I was wholly unprepared for so abrupt a departure as we made; three of my servants were in the Kohistân, and unable to have my effects packed, I was compelled to distribute more than half of them to my neighbours. On the 26th of April Captain Burnes preceded me to Bhút Khâk, and I followed him. On the morning of the 27th, Mírza Samí Khân, who had come to the camp, asked Captain Burnes if it were possible to renew negotiations. He was told it was not. He then came and embraced me, and seemed quite surprised to learn I was going, saying he had hoped I would remain, that there was no occasion for me to leave, that no one was angry with me, that I had lived many years with them in credit, and that nothing could happen to lessen me in estimation, and so forth. I had only to say I was sorry to leave in such a manner, but, as they thought proper to reject Burnes, I had no option. We then mounted our horses, Captain Burnes saying to me, "Your leaving them, Masson, is 'the unkindest cut of all.'"

Thus closed a mission, one of the most extraordinary ever sent forth by a government, whether as to the singular manner in which it was conducted, or as to the results. There was undoubt-

edly great blame on all sides. The government had furnished no instructions, apparently confiding in the discretion of a man who had none. Captain Burnes I always thought was very wrong in not having insisted upon being provided with them; his vanity and presumption led him, perhaps, to despise them, or even to rejoice that they had been omitted—his best excuse for the series of blunders he committed. Dost Máhomed Khân and his friends were, I think, most to be pitied. They had, indeed, shown the cloven foot, but it was the general opinion in Kâbal, and was mine, that had they been properly treated, they would have done as much as could have been hoped from them.

Of this mission a very inadequate idea would be formed from the printed correspondence—in truth, scarcely any at all. It is deplorable to read the worthless evidence there adduced, and the erroneous impressions of the deluded envoy. The intelligence from Kândahár, so frequently cited, was from the communications of one Máhomed Táhír, a servant to Mohan Lâll, and these were, clearly enough, written at the dictation of Meher Díl Khân himself, to "rouse the mind of Sekander Burnes." The communication, enclosure No. 28, dated 19th July, 1838, is from a Frenchman named Carron, in Kâbal. The sad manner in which Captain Burnes misrepresented facts, I cannot better show than by allusion to No. 13, a letter to Mr. Macnaghten, page 14, in which my name happens to be mentioned.

He states that he has more grounds for believing that Captain Vektavich, the Russian agent at Kâbal, is charged with letters for Runjeet Singh, &c., &c. "In the course of yesterday, Mr. Masson was informed that the Russian agent had letters for the Máhárájáh, and the purport of them was to the effect, that if his highness did not withdraw from Peshâwer, the Russian government would compel him." Now I never was informed that Vektavich had letters for Ranjit Singh, but I was informed that, at the amír's request, he was going to write letters; and that Captain Burnes knew more than this may be doubted from the following note to me. "V—— has agreed to write to Runjeet Sing and tell him the amír is under R——n protection, also to Allard!" I, moreover, at the time remarked to him, why should not Vektavich write? what does he care to whom he writes, or what he writes? certainly attaching no importance to anything he wrote. I was, therefore, surprised to find my authority quoted in his letter. I have another singular note, with respect to Vektavich, which may be worth while giving, as exemplifying the plan on which Captain Burnes fed the alarm of the government. He had just seen the amír, and writes, "I will tell you all when we meet, but the most *astounding* intelligence I had given me by him on the Russian's authority was, that Russia had sent four thousand men to the east of the Caspian, to keep the Toorkmans in check while the

shâh attacked Herat." This report went to government without any remark that it was utterly unfounded. That it must be false I pointed out, saying that Vektavich was sent to tell lies, that he kept himself in Kâbal by telling lies; still it was more than pity that Captain Burnes should be deceived, or that he should lend himself to deceive the government. On fifty occasions I had to protest against the delusive intelligence he forwarded without explanation; his excuse, indeed, was that he merely sent reports as he received them, and was not responsible for their truth; yet on some of these very items of intelligence, which the most arrant blockhead in Kâbal would have rejected as fallacious, and which no one, I venture to say, would have dared to make to me, a government of India and a British ministry justify the monstrous policy they followed, nor feel ashamed to impose them upon the ignorance of a British parliament, and to stultify the nation as to the character of their wanton proceedings!

We left Vektavich in Kâbal. I had always thought his object was merely to see what Captain Burnes was doing — that he achieved more was owing to the folly of Captain Burnes himself. As soon as the mission disappeared, Vektavich had no longer a motive in staying, and he thought of returning, which, luckily for him, the arrival of Meher Dîl Khân from Kândahár enabled him to do. Dost Máhomed Khân asked him for the money he had

promised; he very properly replied he was no banker who carried money about with him;—that the amír must send his envoys with him to the Persian camp where they would get it. Had not the Kândahár Sirdár been at Kâbal, the chance was that Vektavich might in reality have had his throat cut. As it was the amír despatched one Abú Khán, Bárak Zai, with Vektavich, and he, as will be seen in enclosure No. 38, page 32 of the Correspondence, accompanied him to Kândahár, and then "disappeared." In the same enclosure, No. 38, the name of Hâjí Hússén Alí Khân figures as the Persian ambassador; this was the same man who at Calcutta presented forged credentials from Dost Máhomed Khân. Do governments deserve contempt or pity for being influenced by the movements of such impostors and scoundrels?

CHAPTER XX.

Progress to Peshâwer.—Captain Burnes summoned to Lahore.—Letter of Captain Burnes.—Reply of government.—Unsatisfactory employment.—Letters of Captain Burnes.—Letter of Mr. Macnaghten.—My recommendations.—Plans of the government.—Their development.—Mr. Macnaghten volunteers his services.—His career and fate.—Jew.—Dr. Lord's Russian spy.—Captain Burnes' representations to Lord Auckland.—Mr. Colvin's note.—My submission.—Offensive communications.—Resignation of service.—Excursion.—Journey to Lahore and Ferozpúr.—Passage down the river.—Mr. Macnaghten's letter.—Interview with Sir Alexander Burnes.—Lord Auckland's offers.—Captain Burnes' insincerity.—Dr. Lord's account.—Sir Alexander Burnes' account.—Application of Mr. Macnaghten.—Squabbles.—Conclusion.

FROM Kâbal we were escorted to Jelálabád by Názír Alí Mâhomed, and thence on jâlas, or floats, we descended the river to Peshâwer. Here we were soon after joined by the Kúndúz party, and Captain Burnes received orders to proceed to an interview with Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, deputed on a mission to Máhárájá Ranjit Singh. It may have been collected that I was by no means satisfied with the relation in which I stood to the government of India—indeed, on the arrival of Cap-

tain Burnes at Kâbal, I represented to him that I thought there was no longer occasion for me to continue in hopeless and unprofitable employment. He, however, had addressed a letter to government which I may be excused inserting, and prayed me to await the result.

"Cabool, 9th October, 1837.

"Sir,

"Before proceeding further with my communications on the state of affairs in this quarter, I feel it a duty incumbent on me to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-general in Council, the great aid and cordial assistance which I have derived from Mr. Masson, not only since my arrival here, but from his constant correspondence since I left Bombay.

"If I shall be fortunate enough to merit the approbation of his lordship in council, for what may be accomplished here, I feel that I shall owe much to Mr. Masson, whose high literary attainments, long residence in this country, and accurate knowledge of people and events, afford me, at every step, the means of coming to a judgment more correct than, in an abrupt transition to Cabool, I could have possibly formed.

"I discharge, therefore, a pleasing task, in acknowledging the assistance which I receive from Mr. Masson, and while I do so, it is also my duty to state, that I by no means wish the Right Honour-

able the Governor-general in council, to consider Mr. Masson as responsible for the opinions and views which I may take up and report to government.

"I have the honour to be, sir,
"Your most obedient humble servant,
Signed, "ALEX. BURNES.
"On a mission to Cabool."

"To W. H. M'Naghten, Esq.
"Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William."

This letter was noticed in a despatch from the secretary, not to Captain Burnes, but to Captain Wade, in the following manner:—

"The Governor-general has derived much satisfaction from the high testimony borne by yourself and Captain Burnes, to the praiseworthy manner in which Mr. Masson has conducted the duties entrusted to him, and Captain Burnes will be requested to furnish to him copies of your letters, and to intimate to that gentleman the high sense which is entertained by the Governor-general of his faithful and valuable services."

As Captain Burnes was now alone, and it was easy to foresee the mission would be involved in difficulties, I judged it delicate to remain with him until it was brought to an end, otherwise I certainly should have forwarded my resignation at this time. Now that we had reached Pesháwer I again brought the matter to Captain Burnes' notice, and he again prayed

me to stay there, while he would represent my case to Lord Auckland at Simla, and settle everything, so that I should be compelled to be satisfied. I consented to remain at Pesháwer, because I had no wish to see any persons belonging to the government, for my opinions of many of them had long been made up; I also well knew that there were difficulties which Captain Burnes, perhaps, did not foresee, but which I suspected were not to be got over; moreover I had determined on the course to adopt, simply that of advancing no pretensions, but if still neglected, and kept in a position where I could not be useful, to clear myself from embarrassment by quitting a service which had long been disagreeable to me, and which I felt to be dishonourable besides.

Captain Burnes had reasonable anxiety that his conduct in the late mission might be called into question. The French officers at Pesháwer also expressed solicitude for him. He was soon relieved from any apprehension on that account.

In a letter from Hássan Avdál of 2nd of June, 1838, he enclosed me one from Mr. Macnaghten, and wrote, "I suppose it is a counterpart of my own to ascertain your sentiments of what is to be done to counteract the policy of Dost Máhomed Khân. They shall have my sentiments sharp enough, and as for *Sikh* rule in Cabool it will never do. What *theirs* are I do not know, but you may guess from Wade's note to me which I enclose. It is unique—

Why he infers you were to stay at Pesháwer I know not."

On the 4th, or two days after, he wrote from Ráwal Pindí,—"They wish to have all our opinions, but their determination to act is clear. I have a letter by Lord Auckland's desire from Mr. Colvin this morning, telling me to repair to Adeena-naggar, where I shall be fully and confidentially informed of his lordship's views in the present crisis. I am also told, that 'the Governor-general is quite satisfied that you have done all that could be done to ensure success at Cabool, notwithstanding the failure of our negotiations.' He (his lordship) is perfectly assured also, that you will now apply yourself to the fulfilment of any new part that may be assigned to you with the same assiduity and ardent zeal which you have always manifested in the discharge of public duty.—*My inference from all this is that Shah Shooja is immediately to be put forward.*"

The letter of Mr. Macnaghten is much too curious to be omitted, Captain Wade's unique note I regret to have lost, or perhaps I returned it.

"Camp in the Panjáb, May 23, 1838.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"You will have heard that I am proceeding on a mission to Runjeet Singh; and as at my interview with his highness it is probable that the question of his relations with the Afghâns will come on the *tapis*, I am naturally desirous of obtaining the

opinion of the best-informed men with respect to them. Would you oblige me, therefore, by stating what means of counteraction to the policy of Dost Máhomed Khân you would recommend for adoption, and whether you think that the Síkhs, using any (and what?) instrument of Afghân agency, could establish themselves in Caboul. In giving your opinion as to what should be done in the present crisis, you will not, of course, view the question as one affecting the Síkhs and Afghâns alone, but as one materially connected with our own interests. I should be glad to be favoured with your reply as soon as convenient. Perhaps you had better direct it to the care of Captains Wade or Burnes, in the camp of the Máhárájáh.

"I am, my dear sir,

"Very truly yours

Signed, "W. H. MACNAGHTEN."

"To C. Masson, Esq."

Mr. Macnaghten as before noted, had been deputed on a mission. It might be supposed from this letter that he did not know why he had been deputed, or farther than he was sent to arrange something, whatever it might be, at his own discretion. Lord Auckland's missions seem to have been much of the same character.

In reply to Mr. Macnaghten, I deprecated the extravagant notion of establishing the Síkhs in

Kâbal, and as the lesser evil recommended the establishment of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, aware that the government had determined upon action of some kind, and never dreaming that an army of twenty thousand men was to be employed to effect an object which could have been readily accomplished without a British soldier, simply by sending the Shâh to Pesháwer under a proper understanding with the Máhárájá.

That government at this time contemplated no employment of its arms, a subsequent letter from Captain Burnes of 21st of June, may perhaps show. It was from Lahore, after he had seen Mr. Macnaghten. "Public affairs here are in an advanced state, and I consider our relations with the Panjab on the verge of being materially altered, and Shooja ool Moolk close on ascending the throne of his ancestors. You may remember the treaty between the Shâh and Runjeet. That is the base of everything, and it only now remains to be settled whether he is to go by Peshawer or by Candahar to his throne. A son at Peshawer to demonstrate there, and the Shah himself at Shikarpore seems the favoured scheme here, but this is not yet settled. The Shah is to have an agent on our part with him, English officers and English money; but it is not yet settled if he is to have any of our troops. I am clear for a regiment or two; but there seems to be some fear of objections to the thing on the part of

Runjeet Sing. The treaty to be formed is tripartite, and the Sinde *orange* is to be squeezed. How much I know not, but very much I hope."

In the same letter Captain Burnes wrote, "I have had the satisfaction of being told that I was sent to do *impossible things* at Cabool, so all my labour that did not succeed was not expected to succeed! Politics are a queer science."

In a very short time it became developed that a large armament was to accompany the Shâh, and Sir Henry Fane was flattered with having the direction of it, while Captain Burnes was soothed with the notion of being associated with his excellency as commissioner. Councils of all kinds were held at Simla, until the expedition was fairly determined upon, when Mr. Secretary Macnaghten volunteered his services for the occasion on the ground that Captain Burnes could hardly be depended upon in so important an affair. This was no doubt true, although the unfortunate secretary was the last man in India who should have put himself forward. He saw I fear the opportunity of gratifying his ambition and vanity, and either over-estimated his ability or fancied that he had an easy task before him. The retreat of the Persians from Herát, in fact, had rendered an expedition unnecessary; but the army had been assembled, the appointments had been made, and it was necessary the new envoy and minister should parade through Afghánistán. I need not allude to the subsequent career of that

functionary or to his miserable end. It would tempt one to exclaim,

"Grand Dieu! tes jugements sont pleins d'equité."

I remained at Pesháwer throughout the hot and rainy seasons, in a bad state of health. Major Tod passed through on his journey from Herát to Simla, and with him came the Jew described by Dr. Lord as a Russian spy, and who of course appropriately appears in the Afghân correspondence, pages 18 and 21. This man lived the few days he stayed at Pesháwer at my quarters. A pedlar by trade, he and his visitors were so noisy in making their bargains that I was obliged on account of my head to have him removed to the opposite side of the garden. He had a plan of Jerusalem with him and I should judge was not perfectly sane. That such a man could be conceived a Russian spy was certainly ridiculous. He went towards Káshmír with a kâfila and I gave him five or ten rupees to help him on his journey. The French officers assisted him in like manner. When Captain Burnes saw Lord Auckland at Simla he conversed with him on my affairs, and reported to me the substance of his lordship's remarks. They were unmeaning enough, but stated my services were too valuable to be dispensed with, while omitting to do what would be only just to place me in a fair position. Captain Burnes also stated my claims to assistant's allowances during the Kâbal mission. His lordship admitted they were

valid, but said the benefit had better be prospective. Captain Burnes when apprising me of all this sent me a note from Mr. Colvin to himself, which as he said would explain itself. "You may write to Mr. Masson to say that Lord Auckland is *really* sensible of his merits, and would wish to consult his convenience and feelings as much as he with propriety can. While the present crisis lasts, his services are too valuable to his country to admit of his being detached to a distance. He will remain, probably, so long as the rains last at Pesháwer, but when the Sháh proceeds in force towards Shikárpúr he will have to move down to that quarter to join the principal political officer employed. When the object of the expedition shall have been attained, Lord Auckland will gladly consider what arrangement can be made so as best to meet his views."

Most assuredly this communication did not satisfy me, for it settled nothing; however, I offered no opposition, and expressed to Captain Burnes that I was content to go on—resting on the assurance he had given me that Dr. Lord, who had been appointed to proceed to Pesháwer, was coming to relieve me. I had scarcely signified my consent, when I received a letter from Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, directing me to forward my correspondence, under cover to Captain Wade. This might have surprised me for more than one reason, but I had soon more cause for surprise in another letter from Mr. Macnaghten, informing me of Dr.

Lord's mission, and calling upon me to afford him every aid in my power.

I now found that it was Mr. Macnaghten's pleasure that I should remain at Pesháwer, and that he had set aside the decision of Lord Auckland and the private secretary. I now felt privileged to follow my own inclinations; I, therefore, awaited the arrival of Dr. Lord, and did assist him as far as information and counsel could assist such a man—and then forwarded my resignation to government, in a manner that it might be known I was in earnest. Released from the thraldom in which I had been kept since 1835, I then made an excursion to Sháh Báz Gharí in the Yusef Zai districts, to recover some Bactro-pâlí inscriptions on a rock there, and was successful, returning with both copies and impressions on calico. From Pesháwer I next crossed the Indus, and proceeded to Lahore, from whence I reached Ferozpúr on the same day that Lord Auckland crossed the Satlej on a visit to Ranjit Singh. I had the satisfaction to be again amongst my countrymen in the British camp, where I remained until it broke up, and the army marched towards Baháwalpúr and Sínd, when I sailed down the river in the fleet with Sir Henry Fane.

While at Ferozpúr, I would on no consideration see any of the politicals, for I was abundantly surfeited with them. However, when there I received the official acceptance of my resignation, which I

introduce here because it has been latterly put forth that I was dismissed the service. I did not take the trouble to contradict the falsehood, — it was unnecessary.

(Pol. Dept.)

TO C. MASSON, ESQ. PESHAWER.

"SIR,

"I am desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 16th ultimo, tendering your resignation of the service of the government of India.

"In reply, I am directed to acquaint you, that in compliance with your wish, the Governor-general has been pleased to accept your resignation.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"S$^{d.}$ W. H. MACNAGHTEN."

Secretary to Governor of India,
with the Gov.-general.

Camp, at Ferozepore, the
30th November, 1838.

After passing Bahâwalpúr, where Sir Henry Fane had an interview with Bahâwal Khân, we reached the frontier of Sind, where I again saw Sir Alexander Burnes. He informed me that Mr. Colvin

had written to him at Lord Auckland's request, to use his influence with me to remain in the service, and to offer me my own terms. Mr. Colvin's letter had been sent to Sir John Keane, therefore I did not see it. I had much conversation with Sir Alexander Burnes, and, observing that he had become fully acquainted with my views, he promised to frame a letter to Mr. Colvin, which he would send for my approval. We had also much discourse on the state of affairs. I had previously learned from Dr. Lord a strange account of the mode in which the *amiable* Lord Auckland had been driven into measures which his better judgment disapproved, and how he was obliged to yield to the assaults of certain females, aides-de-camp and secretaries; and now I questioned Sir Alexander on the part he had taken, particularly as regarded the useless expedition. He replied that it was arranged before he reached Simla, and *that* when he arrived Torrens and Colvin came running to him and prayed him to say nothing to unsettle his lordship; that they had all the trouble in the world to get him into the business, and that even now he would be glad of any pretence to retire from it.

Sir Alexander Burnes sent me his proposed letter to Mr. Colvin, and I was compelled to regret in return, that I had given him the trouble to write it.

At Bakkar I learned from Sir Alexander Burnes, that Mr. Macnaghten, who had reached Shikárpúr,

finding himself entirely at fault, had written to him to send me over directly. Sir Alexander spared me any trouble on this occasion, for he answered the envoy and minister, and without my knowledge. There were sad squabbles here between these two leading politicals, and I was very well pleased to have nothing to do with either of them.

I accompanied Sir Henry Fane to the mouth of the Indus, where he found a vessel to take him on to Bombay, and I returned to Tatta, for the purpose of seeing Colonel, now Sir Henry Pottinger. With this gentleman I forwarded to England a work, the appearance of which was in some manner prevented. In an altered form I now submit it to the public, reserving the portion on subjects, unnoticed in these volumes, it may be, for future publication.

THE END.